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FOR E W O R D

We are pleased to present herewith the Fourth Year Book of the Tallahassee Historical Society. In it are the historical papers prepared and read to the Society not previously published. These papers were prepared by capable, careful and diligent research members of the Society and we feel justified in the statement that the information contained in them are fairly correct.

Guyte P. McCord, President
Tallahassee Historical Society.

March 1st, 1939.

An attempt to approximately identify the sites of
Spanish mission settlements of the seventeenth century
in Northern Florida

Mark F. Boyd

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The story of the mission settlements established by the Franciscan fathers in northern Florida subsequent to 1633 still awaits telling. It cannot be adequately told until the Spanish archives are carefully searched.

Random documents recently available from these sources confirm the meager accounts left by hostile Carolinians, indicating that this region was thickly occupied by thriving settlements of christianized Indians who practiced a successful agriculture. When the expanding radius of the border struggles between the English and Spanish colonies finally reached Apalache, this golden period was brought to an abrupt close in 1704. Information available to subsequent British and American colonists and settlers was largely derived from Indian tradition, and the missions had already assumed a legendary character among the ultimate Anglo-Saxon occupants of the region before the earliest available of the Spanish accounts was brought to attention. Shea (1) was perhaps the first American student to consider the subject. He touched on the Florida missions incidentally and derived most if not all of his information from a limited number of secondary sources.

The first penetration of Apalache by Franciscan missionaries occurred in 1633 (2), nearly one hundred years after De Soto overwintered in this region. The time appeared propitious for their proselyting efforts as a list by Diaz de la Calle (3) written in 1655 enumerates seven missions lying between St. Augustine and Apalache (Timucua), and nine in Apalache. This list is also found in the Lowery manuscripts. The distance between each mission and St. Augustine is given in leagues, although they are only partially listed in consecutive longitudinal order.

The next available list is found in a letter written by Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderón, Bishop of Cuba, to Mariana, Queen of Spain, describing a pastoral visit made to the Florida missions in 1674-75. This was recently translated by Lucy B. Wenhold (4). It is important not only by reason of the fact that the account is the most circumstantial of those available, but the missions are enumerated in the order in which they were apparently visited, and their distance in leagues from St. Augustine is given. Eleven missions are listed between St. Augustine and Apalache, of which four do not appear in the 1655 list, and one on the former list is omitted. In Apalache thirteen missions are listed, four of which do not appear on the 1655 list. The paragraphs describing Timuqua (Timucua) and Apalache in Miss Wenhold's translation are quoted below:

"The Province of Timuqua"

"Ten leagues from the city of St. Augustine, on the bank of the river Corrientes (the St. Johns), is the village and mission of San Diego de Salamototo. It (the river) is very turbulent and almost a league and a

half in width. From there to the village and mission of Santa Fe there are some 20 uninhabited leagues. Santa Fe is the principal mission of this province. Off to the side toward the southern border, at a distance of 3 leagues, is the deserted mission and village of San Francisco. Twelve leagues from Santa Fe is the mission of Santa Catalina, with Ajohica 3 leagues away and Santa Cruz de Tarihica 2. Seven leagues away, on the bank of the large river Guacara, is the mission of San Juan of the same name. Then (further on) is that of San Pedro de Potohiriba, 2, that of Santa Helena de Machaba, 4, that of San Matheo, 2, that of San Miguel de Asyle, last in this Timuquan, or Ustacanian province."

"The Province of Apalache"

"Two leagues from the said village of Asyle is the mission of San Lorenzo de Hibitachuco, first village of this province. From this mission to that of La Concepcion de Ayubali it is one league, and another to that of San Francisco de Oconi, another to that of San Juan de Aspalaga, 2 to that of San Joseph de Ocuya, 4 to that of San Pedro de Patali, 2 to that of San Antonio de Bacuqua, 2 to that of San Damian de Cupahica, called also Escambi, one to that of San Luis de Talimali which is the largest of all, another to that of La Purificacion de Tama, called Yamases, another to that of San Martin de Tomoli, 2 to that of Santa Cruz de Capoli, called also Chuntafu, and 4 from Tomoli to Assumpcion del Puerto. Of these 13 missions, 2, La Purificacion de Tama and Assumpcion de Puerto, both of which were heathen (villages), I founded on the 27th of January and the 2d of February, of this present year, 1675, gathering in Assumpcion the three heathen nations, Chines, Pacoras and Amacanos, who are gradually being instructed and baptised. In the mission of San Luis, which is the principal one of the provinces, resides a military officer in a country house defended by pieces of ordnance and a garrison of infantry."

Another list of these missions prepared five years later in 1680, is also found in the Lowery manuscripts (5). This is a simple enumeration. It lists eleven missions between St. Augustine and Apalache, omitting one from and adding one to the previous list. Fourteen are given for Apalache three of which do not appear on the 1675 list, while one on the former is omitted.

The foregoing is the latest of the seventeenth century lists known to us, although in the Library of Congress there is found a photostat (6) of a Spanish map, evidently prepared about 1683, on which the missions are shown. The map is very crudely drawn and the scale is unreliable. Probably its greatest utility is the probable representation of the relative position of any mission to the others. With one exception it represents all of the missions given on the 1680 list between St. Augustine and Apalache, and in Apalache omits one given on the last list and adds two.

For convenience of reference and comparison the various mission lists are brought together in the accompanying table, following the order given by Calderon. All available pertinent data are included. A portion of the Spanish map mentioned is reproduced as Figure 1.

Recognizing that in part at least the old Spanish routes from St. Augustine can be traced with considerable exactitude, it appears of interest to attempt to fit the Calderon data to the known routes. It will be recalled that the act of the first session of the 18th Congress, authorizing the construction of a road from Pensacola to St. Augustine, directed

that from the site of Fort St. Lewis (Luis) to St. Augustine, it should follow as nearly as practicable the old Spanish road, while it would appear that Captain Daniel Burch (7), who located the road, complied at least in general, with these instructions although it must be recognized that he may have relocated some stretches. It would seem likely that through central Jefferson county the Spanish route lay to the south of that chosen by Burch. He says he spent two days (in 1823) in the vicinity of San Luis endeavoring to trace out this road, but found it impossible. However, when furnished with a guide from the Miccosukee town who was perfectly acquainted with it, it was obvious. "The Indians, it appeared, had kept up a trail on this road until within a few years, otherwise it would have been impracticable to follow it, as but few traces of it remain, and then only in the vicinity of the old Spanish stations or posts, a number of which are yet plainly to be found."

Furthermore, attention has been called to the acquirement by the Library of Congress, of a photostat of the Purcell-Stuart map of the road from Pensacola to St. Augustine (8). This map gives every indication of being based on a careful reconnaissance and traverse. It is probable that in part at least, the trails shown thereon between St. Augustine and Apalache, represent old Spanish routes.

In Figure 2 (parts a and b) we have attempted to fit the route shown on the Purcell-Stuart map to the current topographical knowledge of the region, as shown on the 1933 edition of the 1:500,000 map of the state issued by the U. S. Geological Survey, and the route of the road surveyed by Burch as well. It will be noted that from the eastern portion of Madison county to the St. Johns river, the two routes apparently closely co-incide. Westward they diverge, but may, nevertheless, represent paths regularly trod by the Spaniards. It will be noted that through Madison county, the traveller on the Purcell-Stuart trail had the choice of two routes westward. These came together before crossing the Aucilla river. Across Jefferson county there was but a single route. At Miccosukee the trail again divided, the southern branch passing southwest through Talahassa Talofa (site of the present Tallahassee) thence proceeding northwestwardly. About 3 miles westwardly from Tallahassee lay San Luis.

We may next consider the available data identifying Spanish sites. Of these, that of San Luis (A, Fig. 3) appears best established, although nothing objective remains at present to positively identify it. J. L. Williams in his journal of the joint mission with Dr. Simmons to select the site for the seat of Government, relates that on October 31, 1823, he hired an Indian to guide him to the site of an old Spanish fort which had been mentioned to him as being in the neighborhood (9). He describes it as follows: "It is situated on a commanding eminence at the north point of a high narrow neck of highlands nearly surrounded by a deep ravine and swamp. The moat, parapet and bastions are strongly marked. The south part is 70 paces in length, the north 55 paces. Near a spring is the east ravine two old six pounders were discovered, etc." On the following day he wrote as follows to R.K. Call (10): "Among the curiosities of the country we discovered an old Spanish fort on a commanding hill about half way from Oclockney to Tallahassee. The south line of it measured 71 paces, the north 55, the east and west ends about 46. It had bastions near the angles and in a spring about 50 feet down the ravine east of the works we discovered the breach of a six-pound field piece". Four years later, in his "View of West Florida (11)" he says: "Fort St. Lewis was situate 2 miles west of Tallahassee. Its form was an irregular parallelogram; the eastern and longest side was 52 paces (sic). Within the

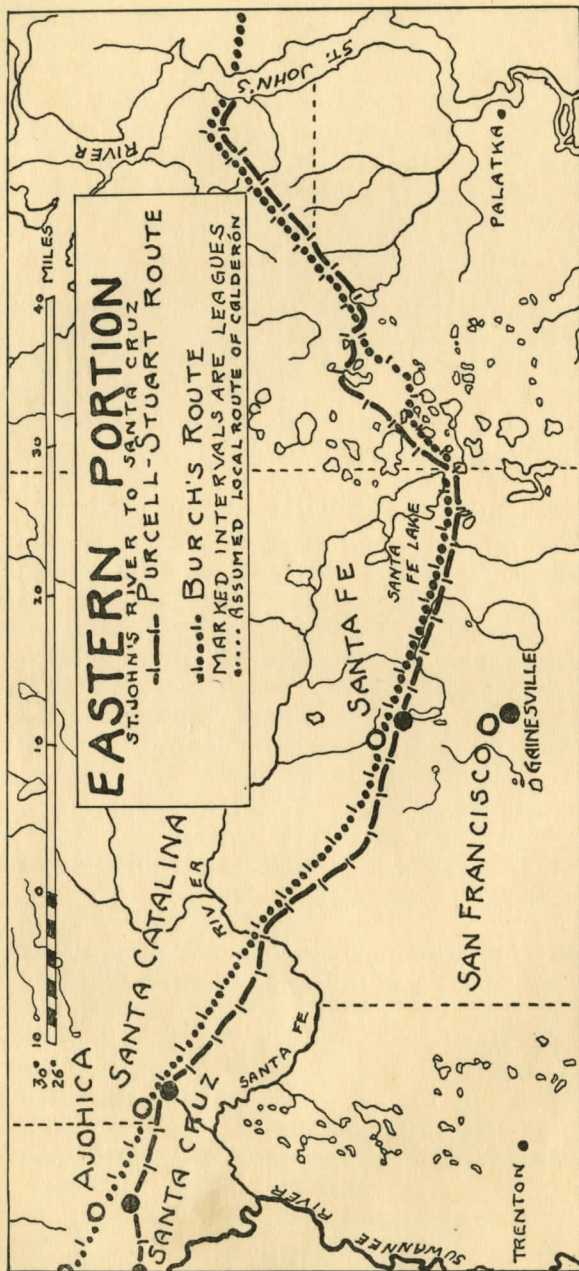


FIGURE 2-A

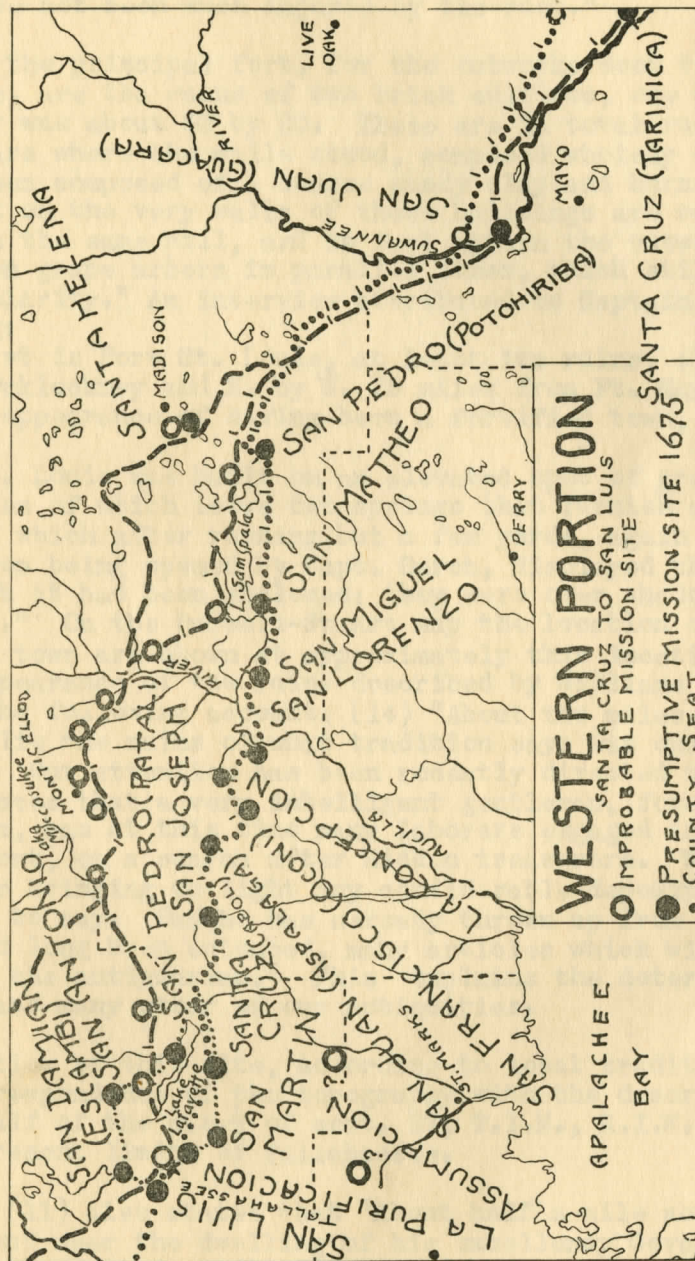


FIGURE 2-B

moat, 2 brick edifices had been erected, one 60 by 40 and the other 30 by 20 feet. There were bastions at each corner. The outward defences were extensive. A covered way led to a spring, in a deep ravine, under the north-east wing of the fort". Slight and immaterial discrepancies are to be noted between his different accounts. An anonymous writer (12) says: "At Fort St. Louis, about 2 miles west of Tallahassee, have been found remnants of iron cannon, spikes, hinges, locks, etc., which are evidently of Spanish manufacture and which have not been much injured by the rust."

"Within the principal fort, for the outworks seem to have been numerous and extensive, are the ruins of two brick edifices, one was about 60 feet by 40, the other was about 30 by 20. These are in total ruins, and nothing but a mound appears where the walls stood, composed wholly of broken bricks, which have been composed of a coarse sandy clay and burned in the modern fashion. Yet on the very walls of these buildings are oaks 18 inches in diameter. On the same hill, and in fact within the outworks of this fort, are to be seen grape arbors in parallel lines, which still maintain their pristine regularity." An interview attributed to Captain Burch (13) reports the following:

"The first is Fort St. Louis, at least its ruins, situated about 6 miles east of the Ocklockney and N. by W. 25 miles from Ft. Marks. This place has more the appearance of having been a fortified town, than a mere fortification."

"Fort St. Louis was built on an elevated spot of ground around a hollow from the bottem of which issue two springs that furnish an abundant supply of water, but which after running but a few yards, again sink into the ground. One of these on being opened by Capt. Burch, displayed the wooden box or trunk in which it had been enclosed; they were over shadowed by a beautiful live oak tree." On the Burcell-Stuart map the location of the ruins of San Luis fort and town are shown at approximately this location. An explanation for the disappearance of the ruins described by Williams and by Burch is afforded by the following account: (14) "About two miles west of the city of Tallahassee, lie the ruins of what tradition says was once the Spanish fort of St. Louis. Our attention has been recently directed to these ruins, from the circumstances that a very intelligent gentleman, formerly of Georgia, now of Alabama, has at this time many laborers engaged in excavating the site of this old fort, on a search after hidden treasures. Whether or no he may succeed in bringing to light any considerable deposit of precious metals, is not for us to say. But he has already thrown up from beneath the soil, where they had long been entombed, many articles which will possess great interest with the antiquarian." This explains the deterioration and disappearance of this and many other of our antiquities.

The location of this site, according to local tradition, which is confirmed by the correspondence of the topography with the description quoted, is on the west half of the s.e. $\frac{1}{4}$ of sect. 27, T.I.N., R.I.W., about one mile west of the present limits of Tallahassee.

Williams (11) also states that "About half a mile south of Tallahassee, (B. Fig. 3), and near the dwelling of his excellency Governor Duval, are the ruins of several small fortifications, which appear to have been hastily thrown up; near one of these a large wooden building appears to have been destroyed by fire; some large timbers of the frame, completely charred, have been preserved; very large spikes, locks, keys and hinges, have been discovered here; among other things, a porcelain lion, in a good state of preservation; it appears to have been an ornament for a chimney piece. At some distance under the surface, a floor was discovered, formed of a composition of lime,

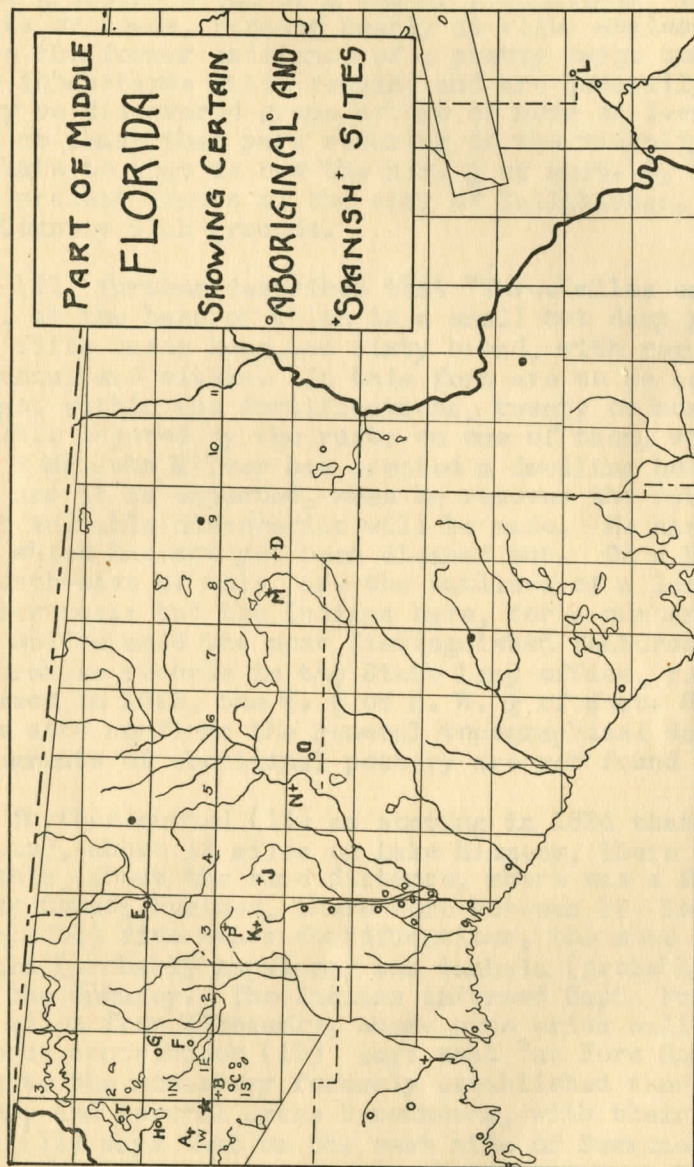


FIGURE 3

and other materials, very hard and smooth. On a part of the floor, was piled a quantity of corn and fliberts, perfect in form, but very tender." The anonymous contributor (12) already quoted relates about this same site: "Bricks seem to have been in general use for they have been discovered in several places by digging a little below the surface of the earth. Within the town of Tallahassee some were dug up, having a substance adhering to them resembling lime mortar. But on the hill about a half mile southeast of the capital are to be seen the greatest proof of a denser population. On this hill are to be seen streets or roads, running nearly at right angles, at such distance as to demonstrate the former existence of a pretty large town. The shade trees of the former inhabitants still remain, and are generally of live oak, and near which may be discovered grape arbors of more or less regularity." These observations, at least that part referring to the vicinity of Governor Duval's residence, relate to what is now the n.w. $\frac{1}{4}$ of sect. 6, T.1.S., R.1.E., included within the present limits of the city of Tallahassee, probably in Myer's Park and the Country Club grounds.

Williams (11) further describes that "Three miles east of Tallahassee, on a hill (8), at the base of which is a small but deep pond, is a fort, about a hundred and fifty paces long, and sixty broad, with regular bastions, ditches, etc., both without and within. In this fort are to be seen the ruins of brick buildings; within the fortifications, twenty or more gun-barrels were found, but little injured by the rust; on one of them, was discovered the tower stamp.* * Mr. John McIvor has erected a dwelling house within the walls of this fort; and it is expected, when he removes the rubbish of the old brick edifices, that valuable discoveries will be made. He has lately discovered a large well, which has not yet been cleaned out. On a higher hill, about half a mile north-east of this, are the outlines of a larger, and apparently more regular fortress; but the Indians have, for a number of years, cultivated the spot, and obliterated the most distinguished features of the work." Search of the land purchase records in the State Land office, reveals that John McIvor, purchased in 1825, the W. $\frac{1}{2}$ of S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sect. 8, T. 1. S., R. 1. E. A visit to the site confirms the general topographical description as given by Williams. Fragments of aboriginal pottery are yet found on the hill top.

Burch is further quoted (13) as stating in 1824 that "north of this (i.e., San Luis), about 12 miles on Lake Hiamony, there was another fort; northeast of this, about the same distance, there was a fort in the direction of the Mikosuky towns; besides, there were between St. Louis and the Suwaney (this fort included) five other fortifications, the most considerable of which were at Auscilla (probably Aspalaga) and Sanbala (probably Ayavala), about 26 miles west of the Suwaney. The Indians informed Capt. Burch that there was another a few miles from Mikosucky, where some brick walls are still visible." Another anonymous contributor (15) says that "at Fort San Pedro is a large bell belonging to the monastery formerly established there, in a good state of preservation, and several brass 9-pounders, with their trunnions broken off. Williams (11) says that on the west side of Suwannee river, and near San Pedro lake, there are ruins, nearly as extensive as those described in the vicinity of Tallahassee, but the country is yet unsettled, and the objects of antiquity have not been much examined. A ruined monastery is particularly spoken of, the broken bell of which has been long an object of wonder to the Indians." He elsewhere (16) states: "Sampala Lake, the San Pedro of the Spaniards, is situate in Madison county, on the north side of the eastern military road. * * It has an outlet into Foenahalloway, or Chattahatchee River." He was in error in stating the lake discharges into the Foenahalloway. The outlet actually discharges into the Foenfena river. The name Sampala is more likely a corruption of San Pablo rather than of San Pedro. On the

Distance in leagues from St. Augustine or preceding site. (Calderon)	Diaz de la Calle, T. I, F. 69, 1655 (From Sereno and Saenz, p. 132)	From Calderon letter 1675	From Lowery MSS. 1680	Map of 1683	Benavides 1732	NOTES
	Nombre de Dios.....	San Diego de Salamototo.....	Nombre de Dios de amacariuse. Senor San Diego de Ecalmototo.....	Salamototo.....		Sl. N.W. Sn. Aug. E. bank St. Johns near Prolata W. bank St. Johns
10						
1½	Santa Fe de Toloco.....	Santa Fe.....	Senor Santo Thomas de Santa Fe.....	P. de Santa Fe.....	Santa Fe.....	
20	San Francisco de Patano.....	San Francisco.....	Senor San Francisco de Potano.....	P. de S. Francisco.....	San Francisco.....	3 L. south of Santa Fe, de- serted
		Santa Catalina.....	Senora Santa Catholina de aloica	P. de Sta. Cathalina.....	Sta. Catalina.....	
12		Ajohica.....		P. de Taryica.....		
3	Santa Cruz de Tarica.....	Santa Cruz de Tarica.....	Senor Santa Cruz de Tharibica	P. de Guacara.....	San Juan del Rio	On E. bank Suwannee
2		San Juan de Guacara.....	Senor San Juan de Guacara.....	P. de S. Pedro.....	San Pedro.....	
7	San Pedro y San Pablo de Poturila.....	San Pedro de Potohiriba.....	Senor San Pedro de Potohiriba.....	P. de Machava.....	Machaba.....	
10	Santa Elena de Machaba.....	Santa Helena de Machaba.....	Senora Santa Helena de Machava	P. de San Matheo.....		
2		San Matheo.....	Senor San Matheo de Tolapatafi.....	P. de Asile.....	Asile.....	Most westerly in Timuqua
4	San Miguel de Asile.....	San Miguel de Asile.....	Senor San Miguel de asile.....	P. de Ivitachuco.....	Bitsachuco.....	Most easterly in Apalache
2	San Lorenzo de Apalache.....	San Lorenzo de Hibitachuco.....	Senor San Lorenzo de Yibitachuco			
2	La Concepcion de Apalache.....	La Concepcion de Ayubali.....	Nuestra Senora de la Purissima Concepcion de Ajubali.....	P. de Ainbale.....	Ayubale.....	Ainbale = Ainbale
1						

1	San Francisco de Apalache.....	San Francisco de Oconi.....	Señor San Francisco de Oconi.....	P. de Oconi.....	O Cone.....	.....
1	San Juan de Apalache.....	San Juan de Aspalaga.....	Señor San Juan de Aspalaga.....	P. de Aspalaga.....	Esralaga.....	.....
2	San Josef de Apalache.....	San Joseph de Ocuia.....	Señor San Joseph de Ocuia.....	P. de Ocuia.....	O Cuya.....	.....
4	San Pedro y San Pablo de Kjal*	San Pedro de Patali.....	Señores San Pedro y San Pablo de Patali.....	P. de Patali.....	Patali.....	*Kjal = Apal (Swanton)
2	San Antonio de Bacuqua.....	San Antonio de Bacuqua.....	Señor San Antonio de Bacuqua.....	Bacuco.....	Baguqua.....	.....
2	San Cosme y San Damian.....	San Damian de Cupahica (Escambi).....	Señores San Cosme y San Damian de Yecambi.....	P. de Escambi.....	.....	.....
1	San Luis de Apalache.....	San Luis de Talimali.....	Señor San Carlos de chacatos.....	P. de San Carlos.....	Chatos.....	.....
			Señor San Luis de Talimali.....	P. de San Luis.....	San Luis.....	†Largest of all (Calderon)
1		La Purificacion de Tama (Yamasas).....	Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de la Tama.....	P. de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria.....	La Tama.....	Conversion by Calderon
			Señor San Pedro de los Chines.....	.....	Chines.....	.....
1	San Martin de Apalache.....	San Martin de Tomoli.....	Señor San Martin de Tomoli.....	P. de Tomale.....	Tomale.....	.....
2		Santa Cruz de Capoli (Chuntafu).....	Santa Cruz y San Pedro de Alcantara de Ychutafun.....	P. de Sta Cruz.....	Capole.....	.....
				P. de Medellin.....	.....	.....
				Puerto y Villa de San Marcos.....	San Marcos.....	.....
4 (from Tomoli)		Assumpcion del Puerto.....				Founded by Calderon. In this gathered Chines, Pacaras and Anacanes.

Purcell-Stuart map (8) the southern trail is shown to pass to the northward of a small lake with an outlet into the Aucilla via the bridge (Econfena) river. The latter was formerly thought to be a tributary of the Aucilla. About one-half mile to the northwest of the lake, the "ruins of San Pedro fort" are noted. It does not appear likely that the San Pedro pond of this map is identical with the lake at present called Sampala. The site of the first county courthouse (1828-38) of Madison county, known as San Pedro, is located about two miles east of Sampala Lake, and is likely a significant site. This was in the n. w. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sect. 30 of T.1.S., R.9.E. (D.Fig.3).

Since it is not unreasonable to assume that mission pueblos may have been located on or in the vicinity of sites occupied by Indians in pre-Colombian time, or later, it is desirable to note village sites preserved by the existence of mounds. Mounds of a size to be significant are known in the following positions in Leon County:

- 1) Micoosukee mound: About $\frac{1}{2}$ mile west of the west shore of the lake, and the same distance south of U. S. 90. It is somewhere near the intersection of the boundaries of Sects. 1 and 2 of T.1.N., R.3.E., with the complementary lines of Sect. 35 and 36 of T.2.N., R.3.E. It is about 30 feet in height and appears to have been originally pyramidal in form. (E.Fig.3) This may actually lie in Jefferson County.
- 2) A large, low, flat topped mound, lying north of Lake Lafayette in Sect. 26, T.1.N., R.1.E. (F.Fig.3)
- 3) A large mound is found in the n.e. $\frac{1}{4}$ of sect. 10 of the same township. (G)
- 4) A group of large mounds is found on the west shore of the south arm of Lake Jackson in the east half of Sect. 10, T.1.N., R.1.W., (H).
- 5) A large mound on the edge of the bluff overlooking the north shore of Lake Jackson, probably in the s.w. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sect. 23, T.2 N., R.1.W. (I).
- 6) A large mound in the southwestern portion of Madison county, probably in Section 18 T.2 S., R.6.E. (O).

It is further desirable to note sites where significant relics have been encountered in recent years. The most important was the discovery, while plowing, of several jars of characteristic Spanish style in a field in Sect. 20, T.1.S., R.4.W. (J). All except one of the specimens encountered were broken by the plow. The perfect specimen is now in the possession of Mr. Clarence Simpson of High Springs. A second significant situation exists in Sect. 22, T.1.S., R.3.E., where irregular clumps of fire hardened clay are encountered over an area of about an acre which bear the imprint of split sticks. The imprints suggest they were the mud daubed on the wall of stick and mud houses, (wattle and daub) rather than the daubing of an old stick and mud chimney. (K) A great deal of charred wood is present as well as fragments of Spanish and aboriginal pottery, fused glass and some pieces of modern earthenware. A third significant location is in Sect. 4, T.1.S., R. 3 E. on the south side of Port Mill creek. In this situation there have been found fragments of Spanish pottery, and pieces of iron work. (P). The last two are traditionally regarded as Spanish sites in the neighborhood, the former known as the "fort", the later as the "mission". Furthermore, mention should be made of a cache of about 40 spherical bronze bells varying from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to 3 inches in diameter, unearthed a few years ago about 2 miles south of Lamont (N). All of these locations are in Jefferson county. Numerous fragments of Spanish pottery, including the rounded necks of jars, have been found in the Itchetucknee river about one mile below the Spring (Columbia county). (L).

The localities mentioned are shown in Fig.3, indicated by capital letters referring to the place in the text where they are discussed.

With this statement of meager fact and vague tradition, let us proceed to analyze the Calderon data in relation to the two routes discussed. We may attempt to ascertain the mile equivalent for the leagues Calderon employs first considering the distance between two well identified points, namely San Luis and the west bank of the St. John's river. According to Burch (7) this distance is 179 miles, according to the itinerary on the Purcell-Stuart map (southern route) it is 196 miles. Calderon gives the distance between the same points as 78 leagues. Thus over the entire Purcell-Stuart route the league would have a value of 2.5 miles, over Burch's route 2.3 miles, a considerable discrepancy. If we consider the distance from the St. Johns to the Suwannee, which Calderon gives as 44 leagues, we find it to be 114 miles by Purcell-Stuart and 113 miles by Burch, or league values of 2.6 and 2.56 miles respectively, and a very satisfactory agreement. Since the latter values co-incide with the general conception of a league, it would appear that Calderon's statements of distance are to be taken seriously. Obviously then the discrepancies noted lie in the territory to the west of the Suwannee. Thus the distance from San Luis to the Suwannee crossing, would, according to Purcell-Stuart, be 82 miles, according to Burch 66 miles. Calderon gives this distance as 34 leagues, which would give this unit values of 2.4 and 1.94 miles respectively. In view of their close previous correspondence it is obvious that some point has escaped attention. Turning to the map reproduced in Fig. 1, it is to be noted that from the text one gets the impression that the bishop travelled directly from San Pedro de Potohiriba to Santa Helena de Machaba and thence to San Matheo, but on the map the second is to the north, and the third to the west, of the first. It is therefore likely, that the bishop meant the four leagues distance to San Matheo to be counted from San Pedro rather than Santa Helena. Assuming this to be the case, we shall deduct 2 leagues from the 34 leaving 32. Dividing the 82 miles of the Purcell-Stuart route by 32 gives 2.6 miles to a league, which closely corresponds with the value east of the Suwannee, which, we believe, confirms the assumption. Examining the Burch mileage of 66 in this manner, we get a league value of a trifle over two miles. Apparently then, the Burch route over this distance was shorter than the route followed by Calderon.

Assuming then that Calderon's leagues are the equivalent of 2.6 miles, let us start out from the west bank of the St. Johns and mark off his leagues with dividers on the Purcell-Stuart route (Fig. 2a and b). The twenty lone-some leagues to Santa Fe would place this mission about 8 miles north of Gainesville, while the then abandoned San Francisco would have been approximately on the site of Gainesville. Twelve leagues from Santa Fe to Santa Catalina, would place this mission at about the head of the Itchetucknee river, where the broken pots were found. (L) Ajohica, 3 leagues distant was likely a village of unconverted Indians. Passing by Santa Cruz at 2 leagues, and going seven leagues further, we strike the east shore of the Suwannee river at the mission of San Juan. This point, where the road crossed, appears to have been from 2-3 miles below Charles Ferry where Burch's road crossed. Fitting these sites to Burch's route is not as satisfactory, despite the proximity of the two routes, since it throws Santa Catalina 2 miles west of Itchetucknee Spring. It thus would appear that the former route, for the distance between the St. Johns and the Suwannee rivers, is probably identical with that travelled by Calderon.

Proceeding to lay off the leagues on the southern Purcell-Stuart route (Fig. 2) it will be seen that 10 leagues further takes us to the vicinity of Sampala Lake (San Pedro) (D) and that, putting Santa Helena off to the north, 6 leagues further places San Miguel close to the Aucilla river, the boundary between Timuqua and Apalache since time immemorial. Continuing to mark off

the distances, we note that San Joseph would fall east of the Miccosuckee mound (E) San Antonio north of the Lake Lafayette mound (F), and San Damian (Escambi) on the site of Tallahassee. However on Fig. 1, it will be noted that Escambi is shown to be north of San Luis instead of east. A passage (17) in Delgado's papers suggests that the vicinity of Escambi may have been adapted to cattle raising. If we accept the northern rather than the eastern bearing from San Luis as marking the direction of Escambi, a leagues distance will bring to the vicinity of the group of mounds on Lake Jackson. At low water stages, the grassy meadows of the lake are still greatly prized for pasturage, as they may have been by Marcos Delgado.

Of the possible sites occupying intermediate positions along this route, that of the Miccosuckee mound (E) and that north of Lake Lafayette (F) are the only others tending to fall in approximately significant locations, while the identification of Escambi with the Tallahassee site appears for reasons given to be unsatisfactory. Let us then turn to the route of Burch. Proceeding westward from the Suwannee at the Purcell-Stuart crossing instead of Charles Ferry, and then passing to Burch's route, a 10 leagues journey places San Pedro at about the site of the old county seat of Madison county (D) known by that name. Leaving Santa Helena off to the north as before, and marking off four and two leagues from San Pedro, then San Miguel falls to the eastward of the Aucilla. This might be in the vicinity of Mound (O) in Madison county. Continuing westward through Jefferson county along the general line of Burch's route, it will be noted that the cache of bronze bells may have come from San Lorenzo de Hibitachucc (N), San Francisco (oconi) would fall near the site where the Spanish jars (J) were found, San Juan de Aspalaga near site (K) and San Joseph near site (P). From San Joseph westward the bishop's described route is longer than it would have been had he travelled on Burch's road, obliging us to seek another solution for this area. Assuming that mission pueblos may have been in the vicinity of mound sites 2(F), 3(G) and 4(H) we find that four leagues along a hypothetical route from the last assumed position of San Joseph, which passes along the north shore of Lake Lafayette, and crosses the swampy north arm, takes us to a point in the general vicinity of mound site 2(F) (Fig. 2b). Hence this neighborhood may be the site of San Pedro de Patate rather than San Antonio. From this point to mound 3(G) is roughly 2 leagues, the requisite distance to San Antonio; from site 3 to site 4(H) is again two leagues, the distance from San Antonio to San Damian (Escambi) on Lake Jackson, bringing us to a position north of San Luis, one league distant. This assumption gives the best fit of the two considered.

One league distant from San Luis, according to Calderon, lies La Purificacion de Tama, which may have occupied the site within the city of Tallahassee (B). One league further would carry us to San Martin de Tomali, perhaps the site Williams describes as the McIvor place (C). Assumpcion del Puerto, lying four leagues from San Martin, was likely in the vicinity of the rises of either the Wakulla or St. Marks rivers.

Thus it is shown that of the seventeen missions described by Calderon as lying west of the Suwannee it is possible, by making certain reasonable assumptions relating to the position of Santa Helena and San Damian from the mission map to assign a location along a modified Burch route west of the Suwannee river to all which Calderon enumerates as lying in Apalache, in positions consistent with the distances he gives, of which hypothetical sites, thirteen have some definite objective reason for being considered in this connection.

It has been noted that the 1680 list and the map of 1683 give two places not on Calderon's list. It should be noted that La Purificacion de Tama only appears on Calderon's list, although on the 1680 list there is introduced Nuestra Senora de la Candelaria de la Tama, which we suspect may be the same. Medellin on the 1683 map does not appear to have a counterpart on the previous lists.

It should further be noted that the interpretation here favored as most consistent, does not attempt to name sites in the vicinity of Lakes Iamonia or Miccusukee, although American authorities herein quoted refer to the existence at one time of ruins in those vicinities. This is however consistent for the period studied, and may perhaps hold good up to the period of Moore's raid. The impression has been general, that following this assault, the missions were extinguished. There is no positive reason to believe this, and from the Spanish side there are encountered fragmentary data which lead to the suspicion that the effects of Moore's raid may not have been as permanently devastating as he boasted. It would appear that in the course of time the frailes gathered together considerable numbers of their scattered charges, and re-organized the doctrinas or mission villages, perhaps on different sites. This view is confirmed by a letter (18) from Governor Don Antonio de Benavides to the King, written from San Marcos de Apalache on the 8th of February 1732 in which are listed eight settlements of Timuquan Indians bearing the XVIIth century names, and thirteen villages of Apalachee Indians which perpetuate the names of the millages of the previous century. This letter discusses plans for colonization in Apalache, with the establishment of a villa or ciudad at La Tama, and the construction of fortifications at La Tama and San Marcos. Certainly the bell (19) recovered from a lake in Madison county (said to be Sampala) which bears the date 1758 (M) cannot be assigned to the XVIIth century period here considered.

In view of the deductions we have made from the relative positions of San Pedro and Machaba, and San Luis and Escambi on the map, (6) Fig. 1, attention should be called to the fact that on this same map Bacuca and Pueblo Patali are shown to lie to the northwest of San Luis, beyond Escambi, in positions that are absolutely irreconcilable with the distances and intervals given by Calderon. Of course both might be correct if the location of these villages had been changed in the interval elapsing between Calderon's visit and the drafting of the map.

No claim is made to have positively located with the exception of San Luis of the site of any of the missions which Calderon describes. It is believed however, that the goodness of fit of his distances to the routes considered is more than a co-incidence, and that the missions existed in the neighborhood of, or within a reasonable radius of the localities mentioned. Further study may assign a provisional location to La Concepcion. In any event, however, all from San Lorenzo to San Joseph very evidently lay in the present Jefferson County.

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R. K. Call: Whig Leader

By: Daisy Parker

The title "R.K. Call, Whig leader" is somewhat misleading, as Call was never a political leader in the modern understanding of the term. He did run in 1845 on the Whig ticket for governor, and during his second administration as governor of the Territory he was avowedly a Whig, but there is no evidence that his administration was a partisan one. Call's connection with the Whig party is worthy of investigation, in that he was a very famous and active Democrat who turned Whig in 1840 and continued his allegiance with Whig principles long after the Whig party as such was dead.

In studying Call's relationship to the Whig party in Florida, one is beset with many questions. What was the national and state character of the party that enticed Call away from the stronghold of Jacksonian democracy in 1840? Why did Call, who had fought with Jackson as a staff officer at New Orleans, transfer his party preference to that party avowedly organized "to cure the sea of Jacksonianism"? What Whig beliefs and tendencies had Call? How did he apply them?

To attempt even vaguely to understand, one must delve into the history of Call and of the Whig party. R.K. Call's life is too well known to historically minded Floridians to spend many lines on his career. It is significant to remember that Call came from an aristocratic planter family in Virginia, a family that could trace its lineage back to Edward the Third. Call was born in Prince George County, in 1791. His father and uncles served with distinction in the Revolutionary War. His father died, however, when Call was very young, leaving Call's mother with a very large family to rear. The Call family suffered reverses during the Revolution, Mrs. Call was eager to move west to Kentucky where her two brothers, George and David Walker, decided to move west to recoup their fortunes. In Kentucky Call grew up, toughened and strengthened by the hardships of the frontier. His education he received from his mother and at Mount Pleasant Academy, Montgomery County, Tennessee. While still at Mount Pleasant, in 1813, Call became desirous to join Andrew Jackson in fighting the Creeks, thus beginning his famous military career under Jackson. When Jackson came to Florida as Territorial governor, Call, along with many other of Jackson's soldiers, came with him. In Pensacola Call practiced law with a Captain Easter as his partner. In 1823, he was commissioned Brigadier-General of the militia of West Florida. He was also a member of the municipal board of Pensacola and a member of the first Legislative Council of the Territory. He was chosen the Territory's first delegate to Congress in 1823, but was defeated for this office in 1825 by Col. Joseph White, who spoke of States' Rights as a "withering doctrine" and favored John Quincy Adams; Call, of course, favored Jackson. Other territorial services included acting as receiver at the land office in 1825 and in helping William Wirt handle some cases before the Supreme Court relative to the settlement of Spanish land claims in East Florida. In the years 1836-39 and 1841-44, Call served as territorial governor of Florida.

Before 1830, Gen. Call moved from Pensacola to Tallahassee owning a vast plantation just north of Tallahassee on Lake Jackson. Call's economic

interests in Tallahassee, besides his plantation, during the course of his life included the building of the first railroad in the State, that from Tallahassee to St. Marks, engaging in brickmaking, establishing a saw mill and a grist mill, and founding the settlement of Port Leon, situated near the terminus of St. Marks railroad.

As it is the writer's task to reconcile Call's democratic career up to 1840 with his Wiggery after that date, it is next important to turn to an examination of the Whig party. The Whig Party sprang from the nucleus of Henry Clay's National Republican Party. It did not for long, however, embrace the advocacy of the National Republican's American System. If the Whig party had a definite policy when it began, it was one of hatred of Jacksonianism, Jacksonianism being interpreted as the rule and exaltation of the rabble, and the hoi polli. One cannot accurately designate the Whig party as pro-bank or pro-internal improvement. Individual Whigs had such leanings; but also individual Whigs had anti-bank and anti-internal leanings. Nor were Southern Whigs and Northern Whigs of the same variety; they had little in common and this sectional difference was later to overcome the Whig party. One historian has written that the Whig party was "hospitable to every faction that was willing to join the cause" of anti-Jacksonianism.

Along with the hatred of Jacksonianism, the Whig party in the South may be said to have had one definite policy, that of conservatism. The membership of the Whig party in the South comprised the well-to-do element, the wealthy planters. It was a general observation in the South that Whigs recognized each other by the common instincts of gentlemen. With such a membership, one naturally expects a conservative outlook. Men of wealth had too much to lose in revolutionary experiments and changes. The Whig party was definitely the party of the wealthy, the party of "Big Business" of its day.

Of the general characteristics of the Whig party in Florida, not too much is known. The wealthy and slave-holding counties of Central Florida, Jackson, Leon, Gadsden, were the strongholds of Whiggery, but the Whig party in Florida was always the powerful minority party. This party was able to elect a Whig representative to Congress three times, a Whig Senator, and a Whig governor in 1848. The Whig party in Florida stood definitely on one policy--the banks. The Whigs were the State "bankocracy" and it was Whigs who had the infamous banks of the late thirties and early forties chartered and who stood on the contention that the Territory of Florida must redeem the "faith bonds".

The strength of the Whig party in the State can be shown by citing a few election returns. In 1841, David Levy (Yulee), Democrat, was elected delegate to Congress against Downing, a Whig, who polled 873 votes, and Ward, Whig, who polled 1622 votes. Although losers in the election, the Whigs actually polled 541 more votes than the Democrats. It is interesting to compare returns of the two great planter counties of Leon and Jackson. In Leon county, Ward received 302 votes, Downing 56 votes, and Levy 307 votes, 5 more than Ward, but 51 less than the total Whig votes cast. In Jackson county, Ward received 213 votes, Downing 12, and Levy 123 votes. In 1845, when Edwin C. Cabell, Whig, lost to W. H. Brockenbrough, a Democrat, he did so by only 45 votes, the vote being 2674 for Brockenbrough to 2629 for Cabell; Cabell carried both Leon and Jackson counties, Leon voting 340 for Cabell and 258 for Brockenbrough, and Jackson 318 for Cabell and 98 for Brockenbrough. In 1848, Cabell in the House of Representatives, Jackson Morton in the Senate, and Thomas Brown in the governorship race, all Whigs

were victorious; but the days of Whiggery in Florida, as well as in the United States, were over. Even Cabell, eloquent and popular and a very flexible Whig, lost in 1852 to Augustus E. Maxwell, the vote 4387 to 4627, and in 1856, Jackson Morton was succeeded by Yulee.

So one comes again to the question, why did Call join the Whig party? The reason usually given for Call's action is his quarrel with the Van Buren administration over the Federal prosecution of the Seminole War. Call felt, and probably with justification, that the war was not being as vigorously waged as it might have been and was particularly vehement in his denunciation of the cessation of hostilities during the summer months. He was rather condemnatory, too, over the introduction of bloodhounds to tract down the enemy. They were useless for this purpose and cost the government a great sum of money (\$151.72 per bloodhound; E.C. Long--\$5,000. per). In the summer of 1839, the situation became intolerable and Call grew more sharp spoken over the conduct of affairs.

Call had been appointed in 1836 as territorial governor, with his term to run three years. At the end of his first term, in February, 1839, he was re-appointed for another three year term. Regardless of this fact, on December 24, 1839, he learned from the newspapers that he had been removed from office and Robert Raymond Reed had succeeded him as governor. In this very year began Call's open alignment with the Whig party. In 1840, Call spent the summer in the North campaigning for the election of William Henry Harrison. He spoke on Harrison's behalf at Kinderhook near Van Buren's summer home and in a log cabin in Niblo's garden, New York City. In reward for such services, Harrison made one of his first official acts to re-appoint Call governor of Florida. It is interesting that Call's hatred of Van Buren was a good Southern characteristic. Among Southern Whigs there was an "aversion and even adhorrence" toward Van Buren, whom they considered "the Arch Magician", abolitionist and political intriguer", "and whose corruption they considered as more and more verified every day".

Undoubtedly, Call's tiff with the Van Buren administration had great influence in changing his party preference, but it is hardly conceivable that such an incident could have been the sole impetus to drive Call from the Democratic party.

Recalling the general characteristics of the Whig party as opposed to those of the Democratic party of the contemporary era, one realizes that by virtue of social position and economic status and interests, Call's predilections naturally ran to the Whig party. His aristocratic Virginia antecedents and his wealth pointed him toward the Whig party. His business interests railroads, et cetera, pointed him towards the Whig party. His position and wealth naturally gave his thoughts and actions a conservative tinge. Call's conservatism is best illustrated when "the dirty whirlpool of secession" engulfed Florida. Although the owner of over two hundred slaves at the time and unequivocally convinced of the right of slavery, Call opposed Florida's secession from the Union. Of Lincoln's election and the consequences in the South, Call wrote: "Is the election of a sectional president by a sectional party consisting of less than one-third of the political strength of the Nation sufficient for justifying rebellion and revolution against your government? Is it not a fact that the present disunion movement in Florida is not because of the election of Mr. Lincoln but from a long hatred of the Union by the leading politicians of the State? Wait, then, I pray you, wait".

Call held the Whig idea that "when conditions become intolerably oppres-

sive and all other remedies had been tried and had failed, then there remained recourse, in the last resort to the inalienable right of revolution^{##}, Revolution vs secession -- tweedledum or tweedledee.

A somewhat humorous side of Call's conservatism is brought out in a message to the legislature concerning a bill protecting certain property rights of women. Call's ideals concerning women certainly were those of the chivalrous cavaliers of the Old South. Concerning this bill, he wrote:

I herewith returned disapproved the bill entitled "An Act for the protection of the rights of women." If the provisions of the bill extended no farther than its title indicates, I should give it my approval. But the second section provides that married women may hereafter become seized or possessed of real or personal property during coverture, by bequest, demise, gift, purchase, distribution, or otherwise, and shall hold the same to her own separate use, free from the control of her husband, and the same shall not be liable to be taken for her debts.

Under this provision of the bill, during the honeymoon of marriage, it is to be apprehended that the husband may give his entire estate to his wife, in defiance of his creditors, and that all the property acquired during coverture, will be purchased in the name of the wife, in such a manner as to prevent it from being taken for the debts of the husband, accruing on past or future contracts. From his nature, energy and capacity, business must be done and contracts must be entered into by the man: but woman will lock up all the treasure acquired by his successful industry and enterprise, and when he, from unexpected contingencies, shall fail in any speculation, he will have nothing which the law can reach, to pay the debts which he has contracted. The apprehension of such a result must destroy all confidence and credit in the transactions of men, and compel delicate and refined woman to disguise her fair nature, and become the masculine contracting party in all transactions. Such a revolution in the laws of the country must be attended with a corresponding revolution in the morals and domestic relations of society. It would sever and divide the unity of man and wife, made one and the same by the theory of the laws governing the institutions of marriage. It would in the process of time, could it endure, expel woman from the Eden of domestic retirement.

It would translate her to the market place for purchase, barter and exchange, until her loveliness would fade like a drooping flower, and her modesty be destroyed. Such a result might be considered as the second fall of man.

R. K. Call

Call's stand on the bank question in Florida constitutes his great kinship with the policies of the States and National Whig party. Before Call's first governorship, the Whigs, with some Democrats, in the Legislative Council and Assembly had chartered several banks in the territory, chief among them the Union Bank, located in Tallahassee, the Southern Life Insurance and Trust Company, and the Bank of Pensacola, later to be termed "the three creatures of domestic ingenuity and foreign cupidity." Very liberal charters were granted, it being said of the charter of the Southern Life Insurance and Trust Company that it gave the company the privilege to do anything except kill the Indians. Generally, the charter provided that the capital was to be fixed at a certain amount, usually divided into shares of a \$100. each, and offered to the people for subscriptions, the subscriptions to be paid a small portion in cash, which might or might not be called for by the directors, the remainder to be paid in mortgages on real estate and slaves. The security was supposed to be worth double of the mortgage, the interest on these mortgages to form a permanent income to the bank. On virtue of this security, the Territory of

Florida advanced credit in the shape of bonds guaranteed to the Territory, the bank assuming the payment of the principal and interest of these bonds. The proceeds from the sale of these bonds-- the faith bonds-- were to be the available means of the bank. Then the stockholders enjoyed the privilege of taking out loans from the bank up to two-thirds of the amount of stock owned.

Quoting Rerick, "With these issues of bank bills, based on the credit of the planters already in debt because of their ventures in a new country and remote from a profitable market, a period of luxurious extravagance began. The beneficiaries, intoxicated by the sudden increase in currency and enthusiastic over the prospects of development of the Territory, instead of paying old debts, contracted new ones." And with 1837 and the crash of the wild cat banks in other parts of the United States, a great decline in the price of cotton, a memorable freeze that destroyed orange and other fruit trees, and the ravages of the Indian War, came the crash of the Florida Banks. Along with the crash came the question as to whether the Territory of Florida should redeem the "faith bonds" if the banks were unable to do so. The Whigs maintained that the Territory was obligated to do so; the Democrats that the Territory not only should repudiate the bonds but that the Council and the Assembly had never had the power to pledge the security of the Territory to the bonds.

Call consistently maintained that the Territory was obligated to redeem the bonds. Although Call was staunchly against the "odious and demoralizing doctrine of repudiation," it is not fair to suppose that he approved of the conditions under which the banks had been chartered. In a message to the legislature, he said, "The incorporation of banking companies without capital and with the extraordinary privilege of raising millions of money on the faith and responsibility of the Territory, the expanded issues of these institutions beyond their capacity to redeem the paper thrown by them into circulation, the great facilities afforded to individuals for procuring money and extending their credit, gave to every species of property a fictitious value, and seduced even the most prudent and cautious into the wild and hazardous speculation."

Nor is it to be supposed that Call gave his sanction to any proceedings which might have allowed his fellow planters who were stockholders in the delinquent banks escape any of their obligations. Repeatedly, Call advised that the stockholders in the banks "must be first prosecuted to insolvency before a claim can be made on the Territory." In 1843, he informed the Legislature, "although I can never give my sanction to the odious and demoralizing doctrine of repudiation, and can never consent to a barter of the honor of Florida to avoid any peculiar responsibility, believing, as I do, that the bond holders must first seek redress from the stockholders of the Bank, before they can, with propriety, look to the ultimate responsibility of this Territory. I cannot recommend the adoption of any measure for their relief, until they have pursued, to its fullest extent, the remedy which the law affords them against the parties first liable on the bonds. Until this is done, no responsibility, in my opinion, can rest on this Territory."

However, Call was definitely sure that ultimate responsibility rested on the Territory. His sentiments on the subject perhaps, are best expressed in a communication to the Legislature, transmitting to them a copy of some Resolutions adopted by the State of Georgia against the repudiation of State debts. Said Call of these resolutions: "The elevated and praiseworthy sentiments expressed in this document cannot fail to inspire the admiration and confidence of those who have watched through the dark night of repudiation,

for thestar, to conduct them on the way of correct and honorable principles. It will be hailed with the unfeigned approbation of all who are not prepared to sacrifice the honor of the local Governments, to avoid the responsibility of pecuniary obligations.

"The high example of the State of Georgia is worthy of our imitation, and I recommend it to the favorable attention of the Legislative Council".

R. K. Call.

And it is not to be supposed that Call was opposed to the Territory's chartering banks. He had the Whig idea--or the planter idea-- concerning the need for local banks. Even in 1843, after Florida's disastrous experience with the banks, he wrote: "Past experience has shown us that this Territory does not require a very large banking capital, and it now exhibits the dangerous and fatal consequences of borrowing money from the Banks, for any other than commercial purposes. But the present condition of the country shows with equal force the necessity of some local institutions of this kind, to operate in exchanges, and furnish facilities for the purchase of cotton. It is generally the interest of the planter to sell his crop at the nearest market, where it will command a fair price, and he should not be drawn from his ordinary avocation, and driven to the necessity of shipping his cotton to a foreign market, from the want of any advantage the Legislature can confer on the country. Should it be deemed expedient to charter another Bank, with sufficient guards and restrictions to prevent it at any time from issuing paper beyond its means of redemption, thereby preventing effectually all the evils attendant on a suspension of specie payments and a depreciated currency, I have every confidence that there is ample fund in the hands of individuals unemployed, which would be invested in the capital stock of such an institution; that it would very soon be put in operation and contribute greatly to relieve the present depressed condition of the country.

"There is no portion of the United States where a banking institution with a limited capital is more required or could be better supported than Middle Florida. Although the settlement of this country is yet in its infancy and improvement of every kind has been greatly retarded by 7 years continuance of the Seminole War, the export from two of the Gulf ports alone, during the present year, is estimated at not less than 160,000 bags of cotton. This, even at the present depreciated value, exceeds the sum of \$3,000,000. and would enable a bank to operate exclusively in exchange, to its own, and the general advantage and convenience of the country."

In 1832, Call had participated in the incorporating of the Central Bank of Florida, being one of the superintendents of the subscription of stock. Apparently this bank was never opened, but it is of interest to study its charter, as Call afterwards spoke of the charter as the best ever granted by the legislature, and the charter shown Call's adherence to sound banking principles. The charter provided that the shares were to be paid for by instalments in gold or silver coin, or in the notes of the Bank of the United States or its branches, within a set time, or the amount paid it would be forfeited. By Section X of the Charter, it was provided that:

The total amount of the debts which said corporation shall at any time owe, whether by bond, bill, note, or any other contract, shall not exceed three times the amount of the capital actually paid in, over and above the money then actually deposited in the Bank for safe keeping and in cases of excess, the directors under whose administration it shall happen, shall be liable for the same in their individual and private capacities; and an action

of debt may in such case be brought against them, or any of them, their, or any of their heirs, executors and administrators in any court of record of the United States, having competent jurisdiction, or either of them, by any creditor or creditors of said corporation, and may be prosecuted to judgement and execution.

In Florida political minds, however, Call was committed fully to the Whig policies in regard to the bank and such defeated him in 1845 when he ran for Governor against William D. Moseley. The campaign centered around the banking system and the faith bonds, the general idea being that with a Democratic victory, the State would be relieved of the responsibility of making several millions of dollars worth of bonds issued "to clothe with purple and fine linen the planters of Middle Florida." In the election West Florida supported the Whig party with small majorities, but the total vote gave Moseley 3,115 votes and Call 2,602. This campaign ended Call's political career and he devoted his remaining years to restoring his fortune which had dwindled considerably during the Seminole War and bank crash. It is unfortunate that as yet the writer has been unable to locate any record of Call's opinion of the crisis of 1850. He probably would have staid with the Whig party, as he stood by their successors, the Constitutional Unionists when the War between the States came on.

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Some Phases of Life
in
Leon County during the Civil War.

By Mary W. Keen

In 1861 the tax books of Leon County listed the names of only 475 white men, yet the assessed value of negro slaves amounted to \$4,525,650.00. The assessed value of horses, cattle, and hogs amounted to \$399,715.00. Twenty-three thousand dollars was the assessed value of watches, and \$69,500.00 was the assessed value of pleasure carriages.

The number of plantations in Leon County during this period is not known. Many of the names of these old plantations given them by their original owners have come down to us, and some are still used by the present owners of the land. Pine Hill, Live Oak, Waverly, Ethelmere, Welaunee, and Verdure are some that come to mind. It would be interesting work for some one, who would take the time, to trace down the size and location of these plantations, and list them with the names of the original owners; the names of Call, Bradford, Randolph, Gamble, Eppes, Chaires, Ward, and many others.

There were ten voting precincts in the county in the early 60's. The names of them were: Tallahassee precinct, Railroad station, Miccosukie, Centreville, Iamonia, Youngs, Fort Braden, Hodgson's, Plank Road, and Jackson's Bluff.

Tallahassee at that time was sparsely settled. Hardly a city block had more than three or four homes on it. But when one considers the fact that most of the large spacious homes now seen on Monroe, Adams, and Calhoun Streets were built long before the Civil War, one gets some idea of the gracious living of those days. Each house had its garden surrounded by a white fence made of wooden palings. There were no open gardens exposed to the view of passersby.

The streets were not paved, of course, and not kept up very well. Deep gullies ran along the sides of the streets, and these were overgrown with trailing vines.

The business houses were all on the west side of Monroe Street. The largest mercantile house, that of A. Hopkins and Company was on the corner of what is now College Avenue and Monroe Streets, where Fain's Drug Store is. Mr. Hopkins went to New York twice a year and the beautiful goods he brought back he displayed in the best New York manner. He had four dress figures in his store over which were draped the finest of silks, satins, and laces that could be bought.

On the other side of the main street was an old Hotel, a clump of woods, and several buildings.

The woods were thick and seemingly untouched, just south of the Capital.

Tallahassee, as a town, had just begun to develop civic pride and to grow into a thriving community in the modern sense, when the war came. After that time the reasons are obvious enough for the discouragement and lack of growth.

Tallahassee had no police force at this time, and the Mayor usually walked through the streets at night, carrying a stick, and dutifully locked up all suspicious looking characters.

There were four churches in Tallahassee: Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Catholic. All of these churches were located on the same spots as they are today, except the Catholic, which stood where the home of Miss Mary D. Lewis is now. The Catholic cemetery in Territorial days must have been right back of this church, on Gadsden Street, where the home of Ivan Monroe now is, because of the many graves that have been found there.

There was also one colored church, which was the Methodist denomination.

The College in Tallahassee was then called the Seminary of the West, or The West Florida Seminary and Female Academy. On Nov. 2, 1861 F. Eppes, the president of the board of education is pleased to announce to the public the completion of the corps of teachers in the Male Seminary by the arrival of Mr. Gibbons, professor of Ancient Languages. And in the Female school he mentions the presence of one lady. "Who has already won for herself, by her mild, parental, yet firm discipline, not only the affection of her pupils, but the esteem and confidence of all who have entrusted their children to her care."

Many of the fine old homes seen in Tallahassee today were built during the territorial days, a hundred years ago. During this long space of time they have changed hands considerably.

Goodwood, the lovely home of Senator and Mrs. W.C. Hodges, was owned during the war by Mr. Arvah Hopkins, although it was finished in 1839 for Bryan Croom.

Dr. Miles Nash lived at 131 N. Calhoun, the present home of Mrs. A. C. Spiller. Dr. Nash, a very versatile gentleman, was Methodist Minister, the post master, a physician, and owned a drug store.

Judge J. Wayles Baker lived in the building now known as the Dixie Hotel. The brick part of the building-- that is the south half of it, fronting on Monroe Street, was the original dwelling.

Mr. Ames, the druggist lived in the old house back of the Capital, on the corner of Adams and Pensacola Streets, but he died in the first year of the war.

The house known as the Columns, now occupied by the Dutch Kitchen, was owned during the war by General William Bailey, who came here from Jefferson County in 1862.

Judge D. W. Gwynne lived some distance from town within the present grounds of the A. & M. College.

Dr. George W. Betton lived in a house built by Arvah Hopkins located at 321 E. Park Avenue, then known as McCarthy Street.

Mr. Sellim Myers, lived in the frame house directly in front of the Supreme Court Building, of today.

David C. Wilson, founder of Wilson's store lived in what is now known as the Bloxham House.

B. C. Lewis lived on McCarthy Street or Park Avenue, as it is now called, at the same location now occupied by his grandson, George E. Lewis.

James Kirksey lived at 325 N. Calhoun, now occupied by Miss Marion and Miss Claire Bowen.

P.B. Brokaw lived at 329 N. Meridian, the house now occupied by Peres Mc Dougall.

Dr. English, a Harvard professor, and later Joseph John Williams lived at the stately old home, now owned by Miss Maggie Williams, at 217 N. Calhoun.

Francis Epes probably lived at 622 N. Monroe, the house now occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Leroy Collins. He lived there at one time, and it was not until some years later that the house was bought by Col. T.W. Brevard.

Mr. Thomas Haywood lived during the war on 322 N. Adams Street, the house bought in 1866 by Mr. R.A. Whitfield, and now owned by Miss Mary Whitfield.

Mr. Charles Austin, state treasurer during the war, lived in the house at 1222 Thomasville Road, now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Fred Pierson.

These and many more of the old ante-bellum houses are listed and described in the paper by Mrs. Evelyn Whitfield Henry, delivered before the Tallahassee Historical Society on December 14, 1933.

There were two summer resorts for the people of the town-- Bel Air, which was a settlement in the pine woods, two miles south of Tallahassee, and Newport, on the St. Marks River.

Bel Air's reason for being a resort was that the dry pine woods were though to be healthful, and also it was though to be a safe place place for the mistresses of plantations to stay while their husbands were away at war. It was certainly better than staying alone on the plantations with hundreds of negroes, whose status quo was so unsettled.

There was a hotel at Newport for the comfort of guests. General George W. Scott was stationed here during the war to protect the coast and to look for deserters.

It is interesting to know also, that at Newport there was an iron foundry owned by Daniel Ladd. This foundry was the first one built south of Chattanooga. It was destroyed on March 5, 1865, by Confederate skirmishers, just before the Battle of Natural Bridge.

According to a report of the Episcopal Church given some years later, time was found during the war to hold religious services at Bel Air.

And of course, needless to say---many marriages took place during these days. A search through the marriage records from 1861 to 1865 gives, among others, the following forty three marriage licenses issued during the year 1865, some of which follow:

Double Wedding. Robt. A Billingsly and Sarah E. Jones, 10-19-65
" " Thos. J. Hutto and Lucy A. Billingsly, 10-19-65

George B. Johnson and Sallie A. J. Rhodes, 3- 19-65
John A. Anders and Hester C. Cromartie, 10-21-65
John D. Perkins and Joanna D. Willson, 10-30-65
Patrick Houston and Martha E. Bradford, 12-12-65
Peres B. Brokaw and C. Elizabeth Keen, 12-20-65

Thirty nine marriage licenses were issued during the year of 1861,
some of which follow:

John A. Craig and Fannie E. Eppes, April 23, 1861
Elton Saunders and Margaret Ann Bradley, 6-19-61
John Maxwell Galpin and Eliza. Denham, 9-19-61
Albert T. Lipford and Sallie P. Chaires, 11- 6-61
Samuel P. Chaires and Virginia A. Bradford, 12-16-61

Twenty two marriage licenses were issued during the year 1862,
some of which follow:

Harry Blount and M. Eliz. Moore, 1-1-62
Theodore Turnbull and Mary E. Simpson, 3-17-62
A.F. Spiller and Eliza. T. Carpenter, 5-12-62
Jas. T. Maghee and Julia A. Henderson, 9-6-62
L. C. Demilly and M. A. Demilly, 12-9-62
Edward Houston Jr., and An Guptas J. Anderson, 12-10-62

Twenty one marriage licenses were issudd during the year 1863,
some of which follow:

Chas. M. Gibbens and Florence A. Gorman, 8-26-63
D. M. Mc Intosh and Armenta Harris, 9-11-63
Chas. W. Ashly and Armanda Skipper, 5-29-63

Twenty eight marriage licenses were issued during the year 1864,
some of which follow:

Major E. C. Simkins and Lilla Call, 10- 4-64
Robert R. Scott and Sara Dawkins, 9-27-64
Jas. B. Grant and Annie H. Ward, 11-29-64

These marriages were not listed in the newspapers of the day. There are no records of any marriage licenses issued to negroes during this period. The first record of negro marriage licenses begins with the year 1865.

NEWSPAPERS

The most complete file of Tallahassee Civil War Newspapers in the State are those in the possession of Mr. Julian Yonge, of Pensacola. He has The Florida Sentinel complete from January 7, 1862 until December 8, 1863, almost two years.

He also has two copies of The Floridian and Journal. One is of July 26, 1862 and the other of November 2, 1864.

The Florida Sentinel was a weekly paper of one sheet, edited and owned by Edwin A. Hart. The printing office was on Monroe Street. There was no street number given, and apparently street numbers were not used in Civil War days. All the business houses were listed as on such and such a street "opposite" a certain place.

The paper was printed on both sides of the single sheet, with six columns to a page. During the most of the year 1862 about one half of the paper was given over to advertising.

On the first page at the top appeared the lawyers' cards as follows: Edwin A. Hart, who was also editor of the paper, Baltzell and Peeler, John B. Whitehurst, of Marianna. Call and Brevard, and Hogue and Amaker.

There was a card for Dr. Miles H. Nash. It read, "Dr. Miles H. Nash offers his professional services to the citizens of Tallahassee and surrounding country."

Dr. Wm. F. Robertson, as the paper read, "has offices and residence at Dr. Randolph's old stand."

One of the largest advertisements in the paper that ran continually was that of M. Lively, Druggist and Apothecary. In his ad Mr. Lively stated that the firm of Ames and Lively was dissolved on the fifth instant by the death of D. H. Ames, the late senior partner, but that business would continue as usual.

Scattered through the other columns were occasional smaller cards of Mr. Lively's stating new drugs and merchandise just received. One that would seem strange to us to read, "Fresh Importations at M. Lively's --morphine, opium, blue grass, gum camphor, Turkey Rhubarb, Dover's Powder and Calomel".

Dr. Miles H. Nash also was a dealer in Drugs and Medicine.

However, these two gentlemen's modest claims to service was entirely eclipsed by a large patent medicine ad that appeared on the front page. It read "Dr. J. H. Mc Lean's Strengthening Cordial and Blood Purifier, The Greatest Remedy in the World, and the Most Delightful Cordial Ever Taken." Pictures of before and after taking were of a man in rags, bent over with age and disease, holding out his hands for alms, and then that of a cheery young man in a dress suit holding up a bottle of Dr. Mc Lean's Cordial, and smiling. After stating that his remedy will cure everything from "depression of spirits" to Yellow Fever, Cholera, and any other prevailing disease," Dr. Mc Lean goes on to say "Beware of druggists or dealers who may try to palm upon you a bottle of Bitters, or Sarsaparilla (which they can buy cheap) by saying it is just as good," and so on. He also had Universal Pills, and a Volcanic Oil Liniment that cured every thing from "gout to paralysis". Dr. Mc Lean listed his address as St. Louis, Missouri.

The thoughtful editor gave over one section of his paper to New Advertisements, to save the readers' time, but no one could avoid the gentlemen of before and after taking, because they were the only pictures in the paper, except a small drawing of the Daily Stage and one of the Pensacola and Georgia railroad trains.

The Daily Stage, Sundays excepted, connected the Savannah, Albany and Gulf Railroad with the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad; leaving Monticello every morning after the arrival of the cars from St. Marks to Tallahassee, arriving at Quitman in season for the cars from Savannah and Charleston. Time from Tallahassee to Savannah, 20 hours 55 minutes. Lewis Mattair was the proprietor.

The Stage Office was kept at the City Hotel, in Tallahassee, of which J. L. Demilly was the proprietor.

The mail from the north came in on the stage. And the Postmaster during the war was Miles Nash. He was appointed August 14, 1851. Donald Cameron was appointed September 21, 1865. The post office department has been housed in many different places. During one time it was located in the house now owned by Mr. Theo. Proctor now on N. Monroe Street, but the building was then down town.

The present Seaboard began coming to Tallahassee early in 1861 or late in 1860. It was then known as the Hacksonville, Pensacola and Mobile.

Auctioneering apparently went on in a large way. R. A. Shine, Jr. advertises himself as an auctioneer, and dealer in provisions, plantation supplies, wines liquors, and groceries in general. Many notices are given of his having slaves, carriages, tobacco, and even whole estates to auction. On March 4, 1863 he advertised as the date for auction of the plantation of the late Gov. Branch.

R. H. Berry advertised as an auctioneer and commission merchant of Tallahassee.

The Charleston commission merchants who advertised in the Sentinel were Hanckel, Tunns, and Nowell, with D.C. Wilson and Son. of Tallahassee as the local representatives.

Post and Mel were commission merchants of New Orleans, and local representatives were H.L. Rutgers, J. A. Anderson, Thos. J. Perkins and Co., B. C. Lewis.

Myers and Gorman were merchants who advertised guns, cutlery, and military goods, such as swords, epaulettes, sashes, and belts. On one instance they mentioned "gold, silver, and steele spectacles---- at half the price and much better than those sold by pretended opticians who travel through the state and swindle the people by selling a spurious article at twice its value".

D. C. Wilson and Son had Gerts and Youths Wear, Fall and Winter Clothing. In another place they advertised Black Smithing. They have already been mentioned as representatives of Charleston Commission Merchants.

A. Hopkins and Company was a very large and successful mercantile house. On November 18, 1862 they advertised a long list of much desired articles for house hold use that had just been received among which were, sperm candles, 50 dozen white cotton hose, assorted needles, 2 cases of black and white wool hats, 5 chests Oolong Tea, 2,000 yards of blue denhims, etc., But by July 29, 1863 they were selling at auktion such trifles as thread, buttons, pencils, coffee, soap, and knives.

P. L. Warden was a jeweler.

Surveying was advertised by R. W. B. Hodgson, whose address was Hodgsons Distillery, Leon County, Florida.

Wm. Kuhns had a carriage business and took photographs in one corner of his shop.

Stereoscopes, and ladies hats were mentioned by Dehham. The hats were described as the latest style trimmed bonnets, plain bonnets, drab, brown, black, and missess bonnets.

There was an advertisement of The Gulf State Insurance Company. They insured cotton in warehouses, or on plantations, all kinds of buildings, house-hold furniture, etc. against loss by fire. There were twenty directors of whom B. C. Lewis was president, and Wm. R. Pettes, Secretary.

Suddenly on November 25, 1862 nearly all local business ads stopped, as the whole paper was needed for war items. No mention was made of the sudden change in the set up of the paper but the reasons were evident enough to the people of Tallahassee at the time. In the first place paper was getting very scarce, and in the second place most of the advertisers themselves had gone to war. Even the editor of the paper had been gone a year by this time with only occasional visits to Tallahassee to see how his paper was getting along without him.

News from "the army in Virginia" and the Army in the West" sent by "magnetic telegraph" now covered the entire front page, and a large part of the second. On the second page were local items about Tallahassee people, and Tallahassee's part in the war.

On January 8, 1862 Council Bryan put in a notice that he was organizing a company.

D. B. Maxwell, Captain of a company, stated that young men enlisting in his company should sign up at his store where they would receive material for their uniforms. It was not indicated how or where the uniforms were to be made.

On February 25, 1862 the following notice was published:

WANTED !

"Twenty men to go to Virginia to join Captain G. W. Parkhill's company on the Potomac. Those wishing to join can do so by leaving their names at the store of A. Hopkins and Company. Fifty dollars bounty will be paid to recruits as soon as they put their names down on the muster roll, and transportation will be furnished to Virginia."

Signed,

A. Whitehead

Among these notices for men to enlist was the following:

"Ten able bodied men wanted to complete company of coast guard stationed in St. Marks harbor, men who are patriotic, etc., etc., and who do not expect to go home every night to sleep!"

The ladies of Tallahassee were asked to form a plan of giving whereby they might donate to a local treasurer what money, silver, and jewels they could. This plea to the patriotic ladies of Florida came out on April 1, 1862. Other towns throughout Florida had been doing this, and Mrs George H. Meginnis was asked to be the state treasurer. Among the collections already made were such items as,

\$5.00 and 2 silver forks
2.00 and 1 pair of sugar tongs
1 fork, 1 spoon, 1 napkin ring

Many of the articles and editorials that came out during these days were re iper for making at home numerous commodities that had always been bought before. Some of these were, dye, vinegar, hard tallow candles, salt from the sea water.

On September 9, 1862 the Medical Purveyor's office of Tallahassee gave a list of fifty roots and herbs that were wanted for medicine for the soldiers.

And there were constant demands in bold faced type for NITRE! NITRE !

One soldier in Tallahassee on leave wrote an article addressed to the men at home who were about to enlist. He said if there was one piece of advice he wanted to give from his experience, it was to keep well. "Camp life," he said, " is much more horrible than the battle front, and you won't have any mothers and sisters to take care of you if you get sick." Sleeping outdoors never hurt anybody he thought, but sleeping on the wet ground might. His suggestion here was that no matter how tired and weary you were at night, always stop and look for a board to put under your blanket before lying down.

On July 7, 1862 J. E. A. Davidson, Surgeon and Medical Purveyor asked for large quantities of dogweed, white willow, and poplar bark.

And there was always a request from the army for lead and sulphur.

List of the dead and wounded usually came in dispatches from Dr. Palmer who was a staff surgeon.

There was a hospital in Tallahassee during the war in the City Hotel.

Overflow from this hospital were sent to Dr. Edward Bradford's plantation, Pine Hill, ten miles from town. Dr. Bradford had four small houses fitted up as emergency hospitals.

The City Hotel was also known as the Brown Inn, and was owned by Governor Brown.

There was seldom anything in the Sentinel but war and more war. A music house in Richmond ran an advertisement for a few weeks listing the new songs-- that sold for one dollar a copy. Some of the popular songs listed were, The Girl I Left Behind Me, All Quiet Along the Potomac Tonight, and, Mother Is the Battle Over.

December 8, 1863 was the last date on which the Florida Sentinel was published. In an editorial, Mr. Hart, the editor, says in part:

"Circumstances over which I have no control have induced me to suspend for awhile the publication of the Sentinel. I have labored under many difficulties in conducting the paper since my entering the Confederate Service nearly two years ago, but had hoped to continue publication through the war, until it became apparent that I should soon be compelled to suspend in failure to get a supply of paper. ----- I take advantage of a few days of leave of absence from camp, to close with this issue."

The only advertisements that continued to these last days were the schedule for the Tallahassee, Pensacola and Georgia Railroad, and the Gulf Insurance Ad. Should people insure cotton in warehouses? Vessels in port? In a few months it would take more than paid up insurance to protect them.

It may seem strange that there are so few of the Tallahassee papers printed during the Civil War, in existence today. But what papers were saved were probably later destroyed during the reconstruction days to efface evidence of what the conquerors would call "treason".

Another newspaper published in Tallahassee during the war was the Floridian and Journal, published every Saturday by Chas. E. Dyke and James B. Carlisle. It was larger than the Florida Sentinel, as it had 2 pages.

In the copy of July 26th, 1862 is a list of the men from Leon County who held state and national offices during the Civil War. These are as follows; Members of Congress of the Confederate States, from Florida.

R. B. Hilton

Executive Officers of the State of Florida

Edward Barnard,

Private Secretary to Governor Milton

Secretary of State

F. L. Villepigue

State Treasurer

Charles H. Austin

State Comptroller

Walter Gwynne

Register of Public Lands

H. A. Corley

Quarter master of State of Florida

George S. King

State Commissioner

Andrew Denham

Judicial Officers of State of Florida

Judge of Supreme Court

David S. Walker, associate justice

Attorney General

John B. Galbraith

Judges of Circuit Courts

Judge of Middle Court

J. Wayles Baker

By the end of 1863 great numbers of the men from Leon County had been wounded or killed.

Colonel George T. Ward had been in the Battle of Williamsburg, on May 5, 1862. His body had been brought from the battle field under fire by some of his friends and left on the steps of a house in Williamsburg with his name and rank pinned to his coat. By a singular chance this proved to be the house of an Episcopal minister who had been a class mate and warm personal friend of Colonel Ward, who performed for him at Williamsburg the last rites of Christian burial.

George Parkhill, Captain of a Tallahassee Company had been killed at Gaines Farm, in Virginia in 1862.

George W. Call, a major in the Confederate army, although living in Nassau County at the time of the war was well known in Tallahassee. He had been killed at Seven Pines, May 31, 1861.

Every day brought new disaster. A century of sorrow was being crowded into a few short months.

The Olustee Campaign in the early days of 1864 was planned by the Federal army with the view of cutting off Florida from the rest of the Confederacy. It was well known that the whole south was depending on Florida for a substantial part of its food supply. Some of Lincoln's critics in the North suggested that the reason he wanted to capture Florida was because

she might then come back into the Union and support him for president in the next election.

However that may be, when the Confederates heard that the Union Army under General Seymour was in Jacksonville preparing to march inland toward Tallahassee, General Finnegan, who was in East Florida, wired Beauregard for troops. General Colquitt and Colonel Harrison of Georgia arrived with their men, mostly Georgians.

The Confederates, on February 13, camped near Olustee, or Ocean Pond to await the invading enemy.

It was here, on February 20, 1864, that one of the bloodiest battles of the whole war took place.

The Tallahassee Floridian had appeared a few days before saying, "Don't give up in despair. Don't lend a credulous ear to false or exaggerated rumors. Rally to the defense of your country. Every man should have his arms and equipment in readiness for immediate use. If a Yankee army ever penetrated into the forests and swamps of Florida it would be a shame if it were allowed to escape, nor will it if our generals and people do their duty."

The generals and the people did their duty.

Although the Confederates were somewhat outnumbered, the enemy was routed and fled back to Jacksonville.

There was some Tallahassee troops in this battle. It is known that Col. Robert Gamble participated. Judge J.B. Whitfield says that his father, R. A. Whitfield fought at Olustee, and at Natural Bridge.

This was the last time any great numbers of soldiers were stationed in Florida, until the end of the war. During the rest of '64 there were many skirmishes here and there.

On March 6, 1865 occurred what Tallahassee people refer to as the battle of Natural Bridge, when Federal Troops from Key West and Cedar Keys sailed up the Gulf to St. Marks with the plan of marching to Tallahassee.

BATTLE OF NATURAL BRIDGE

On November 7, 1918, there appeared an article in the Daily Democrat of Tallahassee by Miss Sue M. Archer on her recollections of the Battle of Natural Bridge. Miss Archer was a sister of one of the cadets who took part in the battle. Her article in part is as follows:

"On March 6th, 1865, forty-six years ago Middle Florida was in a state of turmoil and excitement.----- Distinct roar of cannon could be heard from the hills south of the city, as though a thunder storm was coming up. ----- The Federals had in view for the seventh of March a grand dinner on the Capital Square. Fortunately for us, their expectations were thwarted. With such men as General Miller, and our gallant George W. Scott in command of the noble and brave men and boys, who wore the grey, we had no cause to fear.

My home was in Bel Air, tho I was staying in Tallahassee so as to be near the school. The Female Academy and the West Florida Seminary were under the same corps of teachers----- Dr. DuBose and Mr. Melton, with Captain Johnson in charge of the cadets, and Miss Louisa Damon, now Mrs Edmondson in charge of the girls, at the academy. The cadets, about sixty in number, were boys from Tallahassee and vicinity, Quincy, Jefferson, and some from Bainbridge and Thomasville."

Miss Archer goes on to say that on the night of the 4th of March while she was busy studying she heard the shrill whistle of an engine at the station, although it was an unusual hour for trains to come in. Soon there was much passing and fast driving going by and she next heard that the Yankees were landing at East River.

About day break Captain William Milton's Company from Marianna passed by. Then the cadets were ordered out. To resume quoting:

"Of course, there was great consternation when this was known; for these boys were but children. Mothers and sisters went to the station to say good-bye to them. The little fellows were full of patriotism and seemed to feel no fear. One little boy was bare footed and wearing the cadets' uniform, stood apart from the others and was crying, because Captain Johnson refused to let him go, as he was so young, and also because he was the only son of a poor blind woman. Captain Johnson told him that good soldiers did not cry, and that when he grew older he should go into the war."

Miss Archer says that she left her grandmother's in Tallahassee, and went to Bel Air to be with her mother, in case the Yankees should come by. She says, "The roar of the cannon could be distinctly heard. As we neared Bel Air, the din of musketry with one volley after another, greeted my ears, causing cold chills to run through me. The battle field was only nine miles away".

She tells of the ladies and children at the station busily carding lint and rolling bandages for the field hospital. Some of the children were stationed at equal distances apart from the station to the plank road where the couriers would pass. They could then relay the news to the ladies at the station. To quote,

"Trains would pass through in rapid succession. Most of the soldiers got off at the Oil Still (Now Wakulla Station) and marched across to Natural Bridge, three miles farther.

The Federal fortifications were in a dense hammock across the river, while our men were in the open pine barren or old corn field. The negro soldiers were placed in front of the army to serve as a breast work for their white friends."

Only one Confederate was killed in this battle, Captain Henry K. Simmons. But the Federals lost heavily. On the day after battle Bel Air ladies, and some old gentlemen went to Natural Bridge. They reported seeing the bodies of sixty negroes floating in the water there.

Many of these men had had the inscription written on the front of their caps, "To Tallahassee or Hell." They did not get to Tallahassee.

The list of cadets of the West Florida Seminary, in the battle of Natural Bridge, as given by Miss Archer from memory is as follows:

J. W. Wethington, Capt.
 Arthur L. Randolph, 1st lieut.
 Byrd Coles, 2nd lieut.
 Lavan Baltzell
 Tom Myers
 Lonnie Gunn
 Lucien H. Raines
 Curtis Brown
 Charlie Mims
 Charlie Munnerlyn
 Pratt Thompson
 Tom Archer
 Charlie Beard
 George Ward
 Sam Wethington
 Henry Randolph
 George Houston
 Jesse King
 Charlie Donaldson
 Dan Meginnis
 W. A. Rawls
 Richard Hayward
 W. W. Perkins
 Chas. Pearce
 Herman Damon

Pros. De Milly
 Frank Damon
 John Milton
 Hunter Pope
 Thos. Augustus Polhill
 Sam Tonge
 Charlie Dyke
 Charlis Ellis, son of a Episcopal
 rector.
 John Call
 Jack Baker
 John Du Bose
 Milton Tucker
 J. W. Adams
 Eddie Blake
 Miles Johnson
 Dick Saunders
 Bob Ledsmith
 Tom Frazier, the little drummer boy
 who was killed by falling from
 a car loaded with lumber on St.
 Marks Railroad.

FORT HOUSTON

When the people of Tallahassee first heard that the negro troops had landed at St. Marks, they immediately proceeded to throw up breast works on the edge of town near where the old Plank Road from New Port entered Tallahassee. Here they expected to surprise and attack the negro soldiers if they should enter Tallahassee from the Plank Road, but instead of this the battle took place at Natural Bridge, and Fort Houston was not used in battle.

The fort is about 1000 feet west of the present Tallahassee Country Club House. To be more exact, it is about 250 feet east of the half section line of Section 6, in Township 1, South, Range 1 East. This half section line is today marked by a row of large live oaks on the circle drive around Duvals Pond. The fort is square, each side about 160 feet deep. Today trees have grown up all over the interior of the Battery and in all four trenches.

John Proctor, a colored citizen of Tallahassee, Florida who was living at the time of the war swore before a Notary on the 10th day of April 1937--- that he was familiar with the location of this battery. He also said that the Northern troops (colored) had landed in the Old Spanish Hole, near the light house below St. Mark on the St. Marks River. These troops intended marching up to Tallahassee to capture it, under the direction of Capt. La Trobe, who had married Miss Nannie Gamble. The citizens of Tallahassee dug and threw up this Battery of Fort to protect the Capital of Florida.

John Proctor, also stated: That nitre beds where the dead bodies of animals were burned to make nitre, were located on the old Pearce property in the north west part of Tallahassee, and while he has heard that nitre was afterwards made at the old Fort yet he has no recollection of it.

John Proctor is now almost 94 years of age, his health is good, and his mind and memory clear. During the Civil War period he was owned by Mr. Mathew Lively.

The informations about Fort Houston was procured from John Proctor by Mr. George Perkins of Tallahassee, and it is by his kindness that we use it here.

John Proctor has also stated at another time that Fort San Luis was reconditioned to use as a fort if necessary, and that there was a fortification of some sort near Bel Air.

After the surrender of Lee and Johnson, it was some time before the people of Tallahassee would believe that the war was over. Mrs. Eppes in her book, Through Some Eventful Years, gives a graphic description of the conditions as the soldiers began to come back; how at last the people at home realized that all was over, and that they had lost.

On May, 1865 General McCook reached Tallahassee, and on that day the formal surrender of Confederate forces in Florida began.

The State Government soon ceased to exist, and martial law was declared by military proclamation to be the only law existing in Florida.

The rest, is another story.

:-:

TALLAHASSEANS - OFFICERS IN CONFEDERATE ARMY

(approximately correct)

GENERALS

T. W. Brevard
W. G. M. Davis

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS

W. K. Beard

COLONELS

Geo. T. Ward - killed
in battle of
Williamsburg, Va.,
May 5, 1862

David Long
Geo. W. Scott
W. G. M. Davis
G. T. Maxwell
John P. Cobb
G. A. Ball
W. G. Poole
Alex Moseley
Robert Gamble

CAPTAINS

A. Perry Amaker	R. B. Hilton	T. W. Brevard Jr.,
G. W. Parkhill		
Julian Betton - In G. W. Parkhill's Company - later made a Captain	"	"
John Day Perkins-	"	"
R. C. Parkhill	"	"

W. D. Bloxham
C. A. Bryan In Bloxham's Company - later made a Captain

R. M. Gardner	
John W. Nash	In Gardner's Company - later made a Captain
Isham M. Blake	" " " " " "
J. B. Connor	" " " " " "
T. W. Shine	" " " " " "
Junius L. Taylor	" " " " " "

David Lang
B. F. Whitner In Lang's Company - later made a Captain

W. M. Footman	
J. J. Chairres	In Footman's Company - later made a Captain
B. M. Burroughs	" " " " " "

P. B. Brokaw
D. B. Maxwell In Brokaw's Company - later made a Captain

H. T. Blocker	D. W. Gwynn	C. E. Dyke	R. H. Gamble
Pat Houston - In Gamble's Company - Later made a Captain			

J. T. Bernard

A. F. E. Robertson

W. H. Simmons

ROLL COMPANY A - 1st FLORIDA INFANTRY

CAPTAINS

- A. Perry Amaker

- W. G. Poole

1st LIEUTENANTS

- Lawrence M. Anderson

- Hugh Archer

- W. B. Runyan

2nd LIEUTENANTS

- Theodore Ball

- W. H. Collier

- James B. Galbrath

ENLISTED MEN

Ashley, Ludwick
Beech, M. A.
Bond, Thomas R.
Bradford, Edward, Jr.,
Britten, J. W.
Bull, M. A.
Callin, John
Campbell, William C.
Camparet, John
Coleman, Crittendon J.
Cooper, William P.
Corbitt, George C.
Demilly, L. L.
Denham, A. J.
Denham, William G.
Eccles, James
Elles, Frank
Elles, William
Grant, Samuel W.
Hale, John
Hall, William H.
Hatcher, Henry
Henderson, H. J.

Hernandez, Randolph
Herring, N. W.
Hogue, John H.
Hogue, William S.
Killen, Hugh
Lloyd, Thomas
McCorkle, William
McDonald, Bryant
McElroy, D. E.
Mason, Arthur
Meeks, H. L.
Meredith, W. E.
Messer, William
Morgan, John
Muir, Alexander
Paley, C. W.
Paul, J.
Paul, P. P.
Petys, Handy
Potter, Daniel
Routh, William R.
Roark, John
Rawls, S. E.

Sellier, Charles F.
Scott, E. T.
Shine, Thomas W.
Simms, B. P.
Simms, Philip L.
Simmons, W. A. W.
Stephens, Allen A.
Taylor, John L.
Taylor, Evan
Thompson, Barry
Tillinghast, Henry A.
Wall, R. G.
Walker, A. B.
Watson, Robert
Watson, Alex
Weeks, Levy
West, Charles M.
West, J.
Willis, Alex
Williams, Robert
Wilson, J. H.
Winslett, Samuel
Watkins, Alex

ROLL COMPANY B - 1st FLORIDA INFANTRY

CAPTAINS

R. B. Hilton

C. L. McKinnon

1st LIEUTENANTS

Walter Gwynn

Neil J. McKinnon

John L. McKinnon

E. Alonzo Landrum

2nd LIEUTENANTS

William D. Evans

Robert W. McCollum

W. G. Poole

C. E. Haywood

3rd LIEUTENANTS

John W. Nash

W. B. Runyan

ENLISTED MEN

Alford, James
Alsobrook, R.
Anderson, Alex L.
Anderson, Duncan
Anderson, J. L.
Anderson, J. S.
Anderson, L.M.
Anderson, Walker
Ansell, W. W.
Ard, William D.
Armstrong, John
Bachelor, J. J.
Baker, B. J.
Baker, C. B.
Baker, F. W.
Barefoot, Thomas
Barnett, J. E.
Barnett, Jackson P.
Barnhill, A.
Beale, Jasper
Blocker, John R.
Blount, Benjamin A.
Bloxham, W. D.
Brevard, E.
Brickle, Richard
Brown, John E.
Brown, H.S.
Brown, S. J.
Brown, W. J.
Brown, William L.
Bullard, James W.
Campbell, H.
Caswell, G.
Caswell, Michael V.
Christie, A. C.
Collaway, Jesse
Coxkroff, William A.
Crafford, John L.
Croom, A. Church
Croom, H. C.
Denham
Dodgen
Donald, Charles M.
Duval, Phillip
Edgar, George M.
Evans, Henry R.
Faulk, T.
Fener, Thomas
Freeman, John
Gallaher, E.Y.
Gillett, Thomas M.
Gray, A.
Grice, W. J.
Gurley, M. P.
Hart, J. J.

Hart, Laurie
Herron, F. M.
Hartwell, George
Holly, Robert H.
Horten, Berry
Houck, W. F.
Howard, George W.
Hudnall, T. W.
Infinger, Charles
Infinger, Thomas
Johnson, Alexander
Joiner, James
Jones, G. L.
Kemp, Henry
Kemp, Joshua F.
Kemp, William H.
King, W. J.
Kinden, William
Kirkland, James J.
Leaman, C. E.
Lester, E.
Lindley, H.L.
Lyles, Richard
McCollum, Archibald L.
McDonald, Charles L.
McDonald, Daniel M.
McDonald, Norman M.
McDonald, O.
McIver, Angus C.
McIver, Colin C.
McIver, D. C.
McIver, John C.
McKinnon, Alexander D.
McKinnon, Daniel L.
McLean, Calvin
McLean, Daniel G.
McLean, Daniel K.
McLean, John L.
McLean, J. Love
McLean, Lauchlin D.
McLean, Malcolm P.
McLeod, John
Macon, Arthur
Marcheal, Edward D.
Maxwell, G. Troup
Meagher, R.A.
Miller, Elias B.
Milton, S.
Mimmes, H.
Modlin, F. M.
Moore, G. J.
Morris, William
Morrison, A. P.
Morrison, Malcolm P.

Moseley, B.F.
Nelson, G.
Norris, Allen
Norris, G.
Norris, Henry
Paddison, W.
Page, Allen
Pastell, George W.
Patten, R.B.
Patterson, Joseph
Porter, Levi
Puller, A. J.
Race, W. T.
Raborn, J. W.
Randolph, Eston
Randolph, William
Rooks, Jesse W.
Rooks, Thomas F.
Rooks, William W.
Sanders, J.G.
Scott, Alford
Sessions, T.
Shean, Erastus B.
Silcox, Benjamin
Silcox, David
Silcox, Jesse
Silcox, William H.
Singleton, W. H.
Stafford, J. E.
Steele, J.
Surles
Taurence, Benjamin F.
Taylor, James
Taylor, Latson L.
Thomas, J.G.
Tiner, T.
Tiner, William A. J.
Tipton, I.
Walker, L.B.
Ward, Asa
Ward, B. F.
Ward, Isaac
Wescott, J. D. Jr.,
Willie, W. A.
Wilson, Benjamin
Williamson, Elbert
Woodberry, Samuel C.
Worthington, William
Wright, Elias
Wright, George
Wright, Hamilton
Wright, James
Write, James
King, J.

ROLL COMPANY D - 2nd FLORIDA INFANTRY

CAPTAINS

T. W. Brevard, Jr.,

M. J. C. Musgrove

1st LIEUTENDANTS

Richard B. Maxwell
A. J. Stewart

G. M. R. Cook
A. P. Barrow

2nd LIEUTENANTS

A. F. Hayward

John Parker

Joseph M. Tolbert

3rd LIEUTENANTS

G. W. Saunders

ENLISTED MEN

Ambar, W
Anderson, C.
Baker, Charles
Barr, J. T.
Baltzell, Franklin
Bell, W
Belvin, George
Bethell, Frank
Boatwright, B. J. Q.
Bond, W.
Boyde, L. L.
Brevard, S. M.
Brown
Bryant, D.
Bryant, James
Burroughs, B. M.
Burroughs, Eben W.
Cameron, John
Chester, W.
Cokely, J.
Coleman, Thomas
Connors, J.
Cooper, W. A.
Crabtree, H.
Dauson, Henry
DeCottes, E.
Demilly, L. L.
Dortch, John
Dutton, John L.
Edwards, J.
Edwards, W.
Footman, George Newell
Given, A.
Gray, J. G.
Hall, R.

Harrington, M.
Henderson, A.
Hickman, W. E.
Horn, W. H.
Houck, B.M.
Houston, E.
Hunt, D. R.
Jammerson, D.
Jammerson, G.
Jarvis, W.
Jett, Allison
Johnson, Charles W.
Johnson, J. F.
Johnson, O. M.
Jones, Robert
Jones, Whitman
Jordon, D.
Jodron, N.
Jordon, W.
King, W.R.
Leatherwood, S.
Ledwith, Robert
McCormick, J.
McKinney, J.
Mangum, O. P.
Marrow, John
Maxwell, D. E.
Mcerring, Henry
Miller, Fred
Morrison, A. J.
Moore, G.
Murphy, John
Murray, E.J.
Nichols, E.
Page, J. L.

Rawls, R. E.
Reddick, J. M.
Richardson, D.
Roberts, A. W.
Russell, T.S.
Saunders, George C
Saunders, James
Sciller, F.
Smith, A. W.
Smith, S.
Smythe, James C.
Stephens, D.
Stewart, A. J.
Stewart, J. F.
Stokes, Henry
Strickland, E. E.
Surey, L.S.
Thomas, William
Turner, C.
Walcott, H.
Waller, R. B.
Weather, D
Whitley, S. S.
Wightman, A.
Willis, D.
Willis, W.J.
Wilson, H.
Wilson, James
Wilson, John
Wolfe, R. J.
Woodward, A. L. Jr.,
Wright, W.

ROLL COMPANY M. * 2nd FLORIDA INFANTRY

CAPTAINS

George W. Parkhill
Richard C. Parkhill
Elliott L. Hampton

Amos Whitehead
Wm. Bailey

John Day Perkins
Julian Betton
John W. Epps

1st LIEUTENANT

Nicholas W. Eppes

2nd LIEUTENANTS

Robert H. Partridge

William A. Ball

ENLISTED MEN

Akard, John
Alexander, Robert T.
Armstrong, N. A.
Avers, Henry
Baker, Montford J.
Barkley, Thadius S.
Bentley, Reid M.
Billingsley, Henry C.
Bowen, George A.
Brannon, J. R. B.
Brown, Eld. D.
Brown, Gustavus
Bryant, Jeremiah
Bryant, R.
Campbell, Neil
Carman, Samuel A.
Chason, Claburn
Chason, Owen
Chestnut, David
Clear, William M.
Coker, John
Connelly, Thomas
Corniff, Daniel
Corniff, Patrick
Demilly, John T.
Denmark, Newton
Denmark, S.
Dice, George
Dillon, Michael
Dobson, John N.
Donaldson, Henry
Duffy, Pattick
Denmark, Jasper

Dyke, James H.
Easters, Giles T.
Ellis, Charles T.
Eppes, Nicholas W.
Falon, Patrick
Footman, John Maxwell
Fulford, Jordon
Fulford, P.
Green, James
Gregory, John R.
Hampton, B. Wade
Hargrove, J.
Hargrove, James W.
Herndon, Green L.
Herndon, James W.
Herndon, Jerrott
Herndon, Nathaniel G.L.
Holland, Nathaniel W.
Horn, R. Benjamin M.
Hoyle, William H.
Humphries, Charles D.
Ivey, James M.
Jerkins, Richard A.
Johnson, Abram B.
Jerkins, R. A.
Julian, David B.
Kent, Reuben
Kindon, Edward T.
Kindon, T. E. W.
Lawrence, Theodore
Lee, Allen M.
Lewis, Elery

Lewis, James
McCants, Joseph L.
Pain, A.
Papy, Francisco B.
Palmer, Johnathan R.
Porter, Edward L.
Rogers, David C.
Roney, Michael
Sealey, James J.
Sherrod, John
Sherrod, William J.
Shewman, William W.
Shine, Thomas J.
Sirles, R. W.
Spratt, John H.
Strickland, Jackson
Strickland, John
Sturgis, Durhart
Sturgis, Robert D.
Sunnis, John
Sweatman, Francis M.
Taylor, Green B.
Taylor, John W.
Triplett, Thomas W.
Turnbull, Junius
Ward, Simon P.
Williams, A.
Williams, Chesley
Williams, George C.
Williams, William A.
Wilson, David C. Jr.
Worrell, William H.

ROLL COMPANY C - 5th FLORIDA INFANTRY

CAPTAINS

William D. Bloxham

Council A. Bryan

1st LIEUTENANT

I. McQuenn Auld

2nd LIEUTENANTS

Mathew Lively

Alexander L. Bull

3rd LIEUTENANTS

James D. Galbraith

Leroy Allen

ENLISTED MEN

Allen, Joseph	Hicks, S. J.	Page, Sherod P.
Alligood, Charles S.	Hinson, John H.	Pittman, William
Alligood, James	Holland, Thomas	Pitts, Joseph
Atkinson, Stephen	Holt, Asa H.	Purvus, John N.
Atkinson, Wiley. L	Holt, Christopher C.	Redd, Toliver C.
Barefoot, Thomas B.	Horne, H. M.	Redd, Washington W.
Barlow, John S.	Howell, John W.	Renfro, James P.
Bariman, Elias	Isler, D. C.	Rickerson, James M.
Barnes, Elias	Isler, Fredrick W.	Roberts, Richard
Brown, William J.	Isler, John F.	Roberts, Robert E.
Bruce, Robert L.	Isler, Thomas J.	Roberts, William
Bryan, Joseph L.	Isler, W. M.	Robinson, Larkin
Carroll, William	Jenkins, Samuel M.	Russell, Daniel W.
Comparett, John B.	Johnson, James W.	Russell, Jesse Daniel
Commer, Martin C.	Jones, Charles S.	Scott, Allen
Daughtery, James	Jones, William L.	Scott, John R.
Daughtery, William	Kyle, Christopher C.	Smith, R. B.
Davis, Washington J.	Kyle, C. C. Jr.,	Smith, W. D.
Dudley, Rufus M.	Lee, John A.	Stanford, H.
Eppes, Nicholas W.	Levy, Alfred	Sutton, John A.
Fairbanks, Henry	Levy, David	Sutton, S. M.
Farady, James W.	Levy, Henry	Thomas, W.H.
French, James W.	Levy, Richard	Tomberlin, James E.
Gause, Geroge W.	Livingston, J. F.	Tomberlin, Samuel
Gorman, Robert B.	Maxwell, Francis Oliver	Troup, George
Gramlin, J. W.	Hobley, Robert S.	Verris, Farnwell W.
Grandy, Mike K.	Norris, Henry H.	Walters, Willadm H.
Gray, Edward	Oliver, Arven	Watkins, Robert M.
Hall, L. H.	Oliver, James	White, A. J.
Hargrove, Samuel T.	Owens, Calvin S.	White, S. H.
Hart, John R.	Page, Benjamin F.	Whitley, Thomas
Hartsfield, Moses	Page, James J.	Wilson, James B.
Harvey, Mike L	Page, John W.	Wiggins, Dan
Henby, James T.		

ROLL COMPANY K - 5th FLORIDA INFANTRY

CAPTAINS

Richmond N. Gardner

James B. Conner

1st LIEUTENANT

Joel C. Blake

2nd LIEUTENANT

Junius L. Taylor

3rd LIEUTENANT

W. R. Blake

ENLISTED MEN

Atkins, Robert R.
Aldridge, Richard M.
Aldridge, Thomas
Austin, Benjamin
Austin, John C.
Averitt, Jesse Jr.,
Averitt, Walter H.
Baggett, M. W.
Berry, A. F.
Blake, Isham M.
Boles, William D.
Bond, Walter L.
Branch, Henry E.
Bradford, John
Brown, George T.
Brown, Jeff
Brown, John H.
Bryan, William H.
Burney, John T.
Burney, Willis P.
Caldwell, Robert
Carr, Charles H.
Carter, M.
Cay, Thomas
Clark, E. W.
Clark, John Wesley
Clark, William P.
Cromartie, John A.

Davis, William W.
DeVaughn, Felix K.
Felkel, Daniel C.
Felkel, John Y.
Felkel, Wade O.
Felkel, Wesley R.
Ferrill, Gabriel
Flaming, George A.
Fletcher, J. P.
Folsom, Israel
Folsom, W. T.
Gaskins, Williams
Grace, Ben
Grace, Jordan F.
Grace, Glenn
Gramling, Irwin
Gramling, John L.
Gramling, J. W.
Gramling, Wilber W.
Gray, Jackson J.
Gray, William H.
Hammett, Radford
Harrod, Jacob
Hines, J. W.
Hinson, J.
Isler, Thomas J.
Isler, Nathaniel
Jeffcoat, George W.

Jenkins, James H.
John, Daniel S.
Joiner, Joseph R.
Lastinger, E.
Leger, Hamilton
Lewis, Willis
Lipscomb, Edward P.
Lynch, James F.
Mazingo, John
Merritt, J. W.
Montford, Thomas
Nash, John W.
Perkins, John H.
Perkins, William
Puller, Mallard L.
Peagan, A.
Shine, Thomas W.
Shores, Franklin I.
Snipes, William M. D.
Strickland, William L.
Stringer, Daniel F.
Sweatman, F. M.
Thompson, A.
Walker, Benjamin F.
Wheeler, A. H.
Wilford, John H.
Willis, Patrick
Willis, Robert M.
Zeigler, Vann

ROLL COMPANY C - 8th FLORIDA INFANTRY

CAPTAINS

David Lang

Benjamin F. Whitner

1st LIEUTENANTS

H. R. Hull

Craven Lassiter

2nd LIEUTENANT

William J. Oats

3rd LIEUTENANT

Benjamin F. Whitner

ENLISTED MEN

Adams, James W.
Adams, John Q.
Allsion, Robert F.
Amerson, J.T.
Amerson, Redding
Amerson, Samuel T.
Bass, A. J.
Bevan, W.R.
Blackman, A.
Blackman, Cullen
Blackman, Joab
Blue, D. McQueen
Callahan, William
Carraway, Arthur
Carraway, John H.
Carter, John B.
Clements, Henry W.
Curle, Elijah
Curry, James
Daniels, James E.
Dalrymple, J. D.

Daugherty, Hardy
Daughtry, Joseph
Deese, George W.
Deese, Zacariah
Fletcher, Charles
Gibbs, James
Glisson, John
Grant, John H.
Grantham, B. E.
Green, Arnold W.

Green, Charles H.
Griffin, C. Bryant
Hall, John
Hamilton, John C.
Hatch, Isaac
Hatch, Joseph
Hatch, Paul
Hatch, Azara
Herrington, Jasper
Holdee, Leerend
Holland, Benjamin
Howell, C. W. P.
Haggins, William J.
Hurst, Thomas Y.
Irvin, B. F.
Johnson, A. L.
Johnson, John H.
Jones, Abner
Jones, Jonas
Jones, S.C.
Jones, W. H.
Jordon, E. W.
Jordon, J. F.
Kellam, W. W.
Lane, L. A.
Lawson, Lewis
McKenzie, Hugh
McKenzie, William
McNeil, James
Mattair, Downing J.
Moore, Augustine

Nichols, John
Oats, Young P.
Owens, B. F.
Owen, J. W.
Parker, W. T.
Parnell, James
Polk, E. Frank
Ponchier, Joseph
Riley, Jasper
Roebuck, John R.
Sanders, J.
Sapp, Russell
Slaughter, William
Smith, M. Wesley
Stewart, H. G.
Sular, H.
Thompson, Amos
Thompson, John H.
Thompson, William
Till, James
Tillis, Willoughby
Truett, William
Tuten, R. J.
Urquhart, I. Capers
Walker, Thomas
Waters, Emanuel
Waters, William
Ward, Abraham
Wood, A. L.
Wood, H. M.
Wood, William H.
Sanders, Thomas R.

ROLL COMPANY F - 1st FLORIDA CAVALRY

CAPTAINS

William M. Footman

B. M. Burroughs

1st LIEUTENANT

Richard B. Maxwell

2nd LIEUTENANTS

Joseph H. Sappington

Joseph J. C. Chaires

3rd LIEUTENANTS

Thomas N. Footman

J. Bradley McLeod

ENLISTED MEN

Adams, Elijah
Ashley, Thomas
Ball, Hart. T.
Bell, Stephen
Benton, James F.
Bugg, William S.
Burns, Ball
Burns, Michael
Collins, William
Cox, Thomas V.
Davis, Allen
Davis, Elishu
Davis, Thomas F.
Durrance, John A.
Ellison, Joseph
Ellison, Joshua H.
Faulkner, James N.
Footman, John M.
Giles, James M.
Godwin, Stephen
Gwaltney, William F.
Hines, John W.
Hurst, William

Hurst, John M.
Husst, Thomas H.
Jackson, William
Jackson, Newton
Jackson, George W.
Johnson, Milton
Kersey, William
Kinsey, J. Irven
Lamb, Samuel H.
Lester, B. E.
Lynn, John F.
Lynn, William N.
McDowell, Franklin
McDowell, William
McLeod, John B.
Mattair, Henry
Mathis, John G.
Meeks, Amos H.
Miller, Frank
Nis, Elijah
Paley, E. W.
Parker, Daniel
Parker, John

Powell, Isaac A.
Raker, John M.
River, David
Rodgers, W. O.
Sallis, David
Scott, Daniel W.
Sherrod, John
Silas, John
Singleton, Richard
Slanton, Richard W.
Smith, Asa B.
Spencer, William J.
Stephens, James C.
Stokeley, John B.
Stokeley, John E.
Sylvus, James
Treeman, Simon
Tully, George W.
Tully, W. C.
Walker, Henry W.
Whigham, David
Woods, Henry G.
Youngblood, Abram W.

ROLL COMPANY D - 2nd FLORIDA CAVALRY

CAPTAINS

P. B. Brokaw

G. W. Scott

D. B. Maxwell

1st LIEUTENANT

D. W. Gwynn

2nd LIEUTENANT

E. A. Hart

3rd LIEUTENANT

D. W. Scott

ENLISTED MEN

Alderman, A.
Andrews, J. A.
Boswell, A. W.
Barber, John W.
Barber, W.
Barber, W. M.
Barco, P. T.
Barno, Peter
Billingsley, J. S.
Bond, Elbert
Bradley, G. W.
Bradford, W. M.
Branch, J. H.
Braswell, M. M.
Chaires, Samuel
Chaires, T. P.
Coleman, W. K.
Council, John C.
Croom, A. C.
Cromartie, J. Q.
Crowder, A. H.
Crowder, R. H.
Dugger, I. L.
Dugger, J. L.
Dugger, N. M.
Denham, William
Ferril, A. M.
Ferril, J. S.
Finklea, A. J.
Fletcher, J. M.
Fletcher, M. N.
Fletcher, R. R.
Floyd, George C.
Floyd, W. H.
Galpin, J. M.
Grambling, J. W.
Gray, J. H.
Gregory, H. C.
Green, T. J.
Grice, J. A.
Harris, A. F.
Dugger, Thomas

Hand, C. D.
Hand, W.
Harris, W.
Hart, B. F.
Houston, E. M.
Humphries, J. D.
Jenkins, B. W.
Jenkins, J. H.
Johnson, C. C.
Joyner, B. H.
Kindon, G. A.
Kirksey, L. H.
Laing, W. E.
Laing, R. G.
Lasch, C.
Lester, John S.
Lester, W. G.
Lester, R. E.
McCook, S. A.
McCook, P. H.
McCullum, E. S.
McEchin, J. M.
McIntosh, B. M.
Munro, Robert
Myers, C. A.
Mashburn, J.
Mathison, J. L.
Mathews, S.
Maxwell, John W.
Miller, C. K.
Moore, C.
Mynroe, Robert
Munroe, Thomas F.
Myers, C. A.
Oliver, J. L.
Owens, J. L.
Owens, T. W.
Parkhill, Samuel
Parramore, R. W.
Posey, Noah
Raker, M. D.

Raker, T. J.
Randolph, W. D.
Randolph, T. H.
Randolph, H.
Rawles, S.
Riddor, E. B.
Robinson, F.
Robinson, D. F.
Robinson, Charles
Rhodes, E.
Strowman, J. L.
Strickland, A. J.
Strickland, G. B.
Shelfer, G. W.
Shelfer, W. H.
Shelfer, Joseph
Stephens, J. A.
Saunders, M.
Saunders, F. L.
Saunders, Robert
Shehee, S. B.
Shaw, James K.
Smith, A.
Spiller, A. F.
Spears, W. S.
Scott, A. M.
Story, Isaac
Sylvester, James
Tatum, T. P.
Tully, W. C.
Vickers, E.
Vickers, J.
Walsh, Bryant
Walsh, Patrick
Watson, J. H.
Watson, J. J.
Wamack, W.
Woodward, W. W.
Woodward, A. L.
Thetstone, N.
Thetstone, J. C.
Wilson, A. J.
Wilson, T. R.

ROLL COMPANY E - 2nd FLORIDA CAVALRY

CAPTAIN

Haley T. Blocker

1st LIEUTENANT

J. W. Oliver

2nd LIEUTENANT

S. E. Conyers

3rd LIEUTENANT

R. C. BOOTH

ENLISTED MEN

Allen, Lucius
Archer, Hugh
Ashman, Lanford
Bell, W. I.
Bell, J.
Blalock, W. H.
Blocker, John R.
Bratcher, Andrew
Bruton, W. A.
Browning, J.
Colson, James
Connell, Thomas
Cook, W. G.
Daniels, Robert
Dassy, J.
Dassy, J. R.
Davis, H. C.
Drake, James R.
Dugger, J. F.
Dukes, C. E.
Dunham, J. F.
DuPont, A. S.
DuPont, C. W.
DuPont, J. H.
DuVal, Philip
English, John W.
English, R.
Edwards, C. B.
Felkel, W. W.
Futchwanger, A.
Gallagher, Edward Y.
Gee, Richard, C.
Gibbons, C. M.
Goodson, George W.

Goodson, Joseph
Goodson, L.
Goodson, Madison
Goodson, R.
Goza, J. M.
Gwynn, Thomas
Handley, G. W.
Handley, J.
Havis, James R.
Hawthorne, John C.
Hawthornen, W. B.
Hernanes, J. W.
Higdon, J. J.
Hodges, J. J.
Holloman, J. W.
Hunter, M. B.
Hutchins, D. B.
Jones, A. L.
Kemp, W. B.
Kersey, David, E.
King, J. H.
King, W. C.
Lang, A. C.
Lassiter, J. B.
Lassiter, J. J.
Lassiter, W. A. B.
Lipford, A. T.
McElvy, A. B.
McElroy, S. W.
McKinnon, J. B.
Martin, Jabez
Maxwell, D. W.
Merritt, J. W.
Mills, John M.

Moore, A.
Munroe, B. H.
Muse, C. H.
Nasworth, George W.
Nasworth, H. W.
Owens, J. M.
Packard, D. C.
Pickett, D. E.
Pickett, J.
Pickett, James R.
Powell, H. G.
Rainey, W. C. H.
Rich, Thomas D.
Robertson, J. B.
Robertson, William
Robertson, William L.
Roland, Stephen C.
Sanborn, Ira W.
Saunders, Wright W.
Scott, William L.
Sealey, John E.
Sealey, J. J.
Simmons, H. B.
Singleton, W. H.
Smith, F. T.
Smith, T. Y. Jr.
Smith, W. W.
Spears, D. S.
Spears, Z.
Stanaland, George N.
Taylor, John L.
Towers, C. D.
West, Thomas H.
Whittle, A. H.
Williams, J. W.

ROLL COMPANY C - 5th FLORIDA BATTALION CAVALRY

CAPTAIN

D. W. Gwynn.

1st LIEUTENANT

E. A. Hart

2nd LIEUTENANTS

R. E. Lester

E. W. Burroughs

ENLISTED MEN

Allen, William H.
Anders, J. A.
Bradford, W. M.
Bond, W. L.
Bond, E.
Billingsley, A. S.
Billingsley, J. S.
Burns, M.
Blalock, W. H.
Braswell, J. W.
Croom, G. A.
Croom, A. C.
Coleman, W. K.
Crowder, A. H.
Crowder, R. H.
Cam, J.
Chaires, Benjamin
Daniell, Robert

Dennis, G. E.
Denham, W.
Denham, James S.
Dugger, J. L.
Dykes, H. K.
Ellis, W.
Edwards, C. G.
Fletcher, J. M.
Fletcher, M. N.
Fletcher, Richard
Finklen, A. J.
Gregory, H. C.
Green, F. T.
Gray, J.

Humphries, J. H.
Hart, B. F.
Hines, W. W.
Hunt, E.
Harris, W.
Harris, W. W.
Hall, T. T.
Horn, C. J.
Joyner, B. H.
Johnson, B. W.
Kindon, G. A.
Koker, T. J.
Laing, W. E.
Laing, T. J.
Lash, C.
Lester, S. F.
Long, R. C.
Murray, W. A.
McCook, P. H.
Mash, H. T.
Mash, J. J.
Mash, M. M.
Mathews, S.
Matheson, J. L.
McIntosh, Bert
Owens, T. W.
Paramore, R. W.
Russell, J. B.
Raker, Thomas
Raysor, George
Raker, M.
Rhodes, E.

Raysor, A.
Raines, R.
Shelfer, George
Shelfer, Henry M.
Stroman, J. L.
Shelfer, Joseph J.
Shelfer, W. H.
Spears, W. E.
Saunders, W. T.
Swearington, T. F.
Stony, I.
Sturgess, D.
Simkins, T. B.
Sills, John C.
Sills, W.
Smallwood, F.
Sylvester, R. H.
Turnbull, Theo
Tatum, T. P.
Watson, J. H.
Watkins, J. J.
Watson, J. J.
Woodward, W. W.
Woodward, A. L.
Wilson, B. D.
Whitley, J.
Whitfield, R. B.
Whitfield, R. A.
Wethington, J. Q.
Wynche, Thomas
Whitehurst, J. J.

ROLL CAPT. CHARLES E. E. DYKE'S LIGHT ARTILLERY

CAPTAIN

Charles E. Dyke

SURGEON

W. F. Robertson

1st LIEUTENANT

Joe N. Whitner

2nd LIEUTENANT

E. W. Gamble

3rd LIEUTENANT

Frank B. Fox

ENLISTED MEN

Adams, Thomas
Alston, James A.
Atkinson, Craven
Austen, M. D.
Baker, Jacob A.
Barron, Reuben T.
Barrow, J. R.
Bernreuter, Charles J.
Bernreuter, Henry
Billingsly, G. W.
Bishop, B. L.
Bishop, Wm.
Boyde, Thomas
Bramlet, W. L.
Brichik,
Bunker, E. H.
Carn, David W.
Chestnut, A. D.
Chestnut, John
Clem, Thomas V.
Combs, A. R.
Cone, A. D.
Douglass, A. E.
Eakin, George W.
Edmondson, Joseph A.
Edwards, O. C.
English, J. C.
English, Joseph H.
Floyd, W. H.

Freeman, John W.
Garwood, Charles
Gilbert, A.
Grabling, D. E.
Grabling, M. A.
Hamrick, D. J.
Hancock, Josiah
Hinton, James H.
Hinton, S. S.
Hobby, Barney
Hudnall, T. L.
Johnson, Frank
Joiner, S. T.
Jones, Alfred
Lee, James
Martin, James P.
Martin, Joseph
Mason, Adam W.
Mathis, Thomas Sr.,
Mathews, William
Montford, Joshua
Myers, E. H.
Nealey, Samuel W.
Neary, Thomas
Newman, J. J.
McCants, A. C.
O'Conner, Dennis
Odom, M. S.
O'Neal, J. W.

Pappy, Francisco B.
Paterson, Hugh
Paul, G. W.
Purdy, J. E.
Renew, Moses G.
Rhodes, J. J.
Sauls, James D.
Sessions, L. M. C.
Shepard, R. G.
Shilling, John
Simmons, William A. W.
Skipper, J. G.
Skipper, J. W.
Smith, E. C.
Smith, M. B.
Smith, W. J.
Taylor, J. L.
Tounsand, C. L.
Townsend, John A.
Townsend, William H.
Van Brunt, J. C.
Ward, Harvey
Ward, Thomas
Whitaker, John H.
Wilson, Frank
Wood, G. P.
Stephans, Richard
Townsend, F. M.

ROLL CAPT. R. H. GAMBLE'S LIGHT ARTILLERY

CAPTAINS

Robert H. Gamble

F. L. Villepigue

Patrick Houston

1st LIEUTENANT

John Williford

2nd LIEUTENANT

S. C. May

3rd LIEUTENANT

D. T. Forrest

ENLISTED MEN

Albritton, J. T.
Anderson, C. C.
Anderson, Robert
Atkinson, J. B.
Babbitt, F. L.
Ball, Willis
Baldy, W. C.
Barrington, Wilson
Bennett, Reuben
Bennett, T. R.
Bennett, W. L.
Beryy, H. H.
Berry, K. L.
Blake, Charles, F.
Blanton, J. Elles
Blanton, S. L.
Boatrightm John B.
Boyde, Thomas A.
Bradon, H. B.
Branning, D. L.
Britton, Johathan W.
Brooks, B. F.
Budd, J. T.
Burton, C. M.
Butler, J. W.
Byrd, B. F.
Campbell, W. C.
Carrell, W. C.
Carpenter, E.
Cardy, John
Cavilley, Joseph
Chaires, Furman
Chaires, S. P.
Chaires, T. B.
Chambers, Patrick B.

Clayton, A. B.
Clayton, W. J.
Coles, John p.
Collier, James S.
Cox, John T.
Dale, William O.
Davenport, William
Dawkins, Willis
Dearborn, Jackson
Demilly, John F.
Dudley, Spencer
Duval, Phillip S.
Ecles, James
Edmondson, G. W.
Edwards, James T.
Edwards, Samuel
Ennis, William
Evans, William
Farrell, Norman
Fenns, Josiah
Findison, Charles A.
Fisher, George H.
Fisher, J. H.
Fisher, William
Gamble, Albert M.
Garrett, George W.
Geriell, G. E.
Gwaltney, James H.
Hamilton, Hampton P.
Hamilton, T. D.
Hamilton, Thomas P.
Hammond, S. T.
Hampton, W. A.
Haven, G. B.
Harris, J. A.

Hockett, John
Hogue, John H.
Hopkins, Charles F.
Horne, Henry M.
Horne, J. W.
Horton, Levi
Hutton, T. J.
Jones, George L.
Jones, Joesph
Jones, William N.
Kersey, E. J.
Kilpatrick, A. W.
Kindon, W. H.
Kirkpatrick, T. W.
Lambert, Anthony
LaTrobe, C. H.
Laurence, Thomas W.
Leonhard, H.
Lewis, Jesse
Lewis, P. R.
Lynn, J. B.
McLaughlin, E. B.
Mahry, W. M.
Mabry, William W.
Markey, Thomas, J.
May, Alfred M.
May, George A.
May, J. C.
May, William N.
Meyer, John
Miller, W. H.
Moodie, E. J.
Morris, James A.
Nally, Thomas H. C.
Narzworth, J. Y.

Nevin, John
 Nicholson, M. J.
 Norris, E. A.
 Owens, Edward
 Perry, W. H.
 Perry, J. W.
 Phillips, R. F.
 Fuller, Joseph,
 Putman, John
 Randolph, T.P.
 Richards, Jacob, D.
 Richardson, Daniel
 Richardson, David
 Rooney, J. A. A.

Rye, Hosea F.
 Saunders, J. R.
 Scurry, Grant
 Sellier, Charles F.
 Shaffer, Fred P.
 Simmons, William J.
 Slusser, Levi
 Smith, John J.
 Smith, S. N.
 Stafford, J. J.
 Stafford, R. F.
 Stanaland, G. N.
 Strickland, E. C.
 Sutley, Absalom R.

Taylor, James H.
 Vann, James E.
 Walker D. S.
 Walker, J. J.
 Walker, P. J.
 Wheeler, J. H.
 Whistler, W. S.
 White, Littleton, M.
 Williams, Mack
 Williams, Robert M.
 Williams, Thomas, F.
 Williford, John
 Wilson, R. D.
 Wolf, William W.
 Womack, H. M.

SURGEONS IN CONFEDERATE ARMY

J. H. Randolph
 John S. Bond

C. Gamble
 D. M. Carn

J. W. Eppes
 W. F. Robertson

TALLAHASSEEANS IN CONFEDERATE STATES NAVY

Jas. D. Wilson

B. S. Herring

T. J. Appleyard

***.

ROBERT BUTLER
AN AMERICAN PIONEER
BY
MARY LAMAR DAVIS

Like all solid American Pioneers, Robert Butler had distinguished English and Irish ancestors and I will begin and build my story upon this background: The Butler Family in America, and closer home, with local color, Leon County and Tallahassee.

American History has rightly named "the Five Fighting Butlers", as we find there has been a Butler in every war since the Revolutionary. To give an idea how well known and renowned as soldiers these brothers were let me quote: "General Washington made this Toast while surrounded by a large party of Officers and the antidote rests on the authority of General Findley of Cincinnati: "To the Butler's (man and wife) and their five sons," and was without doubt based upon the zeal of the Butler family. General Lafayette is known to have said, "When I wanted a thing done I ordered a Butler to do it." Percival Butler, fourth son of the Butler clan, was presented with a sword by General Lafayette for bravery.

Thomas Butler, head of the Butler clan in America, was born April 6, 1720, in Kilkenny, Ireland. Was an officer in the British Army and implicated in the Revolutionary movements in Ireland, which caused him to resign his commission and immigrate to America, where he settled at Carlisle, Penn., in the Cumberland Valley, in 1748. Was descended from the "Danboyne" branch of the Irish Butlers, originally "Fitzwalters" from Normandy and from James Butler, Duke of Ormond, a distinguished statesman of England and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in the Reign of Charles II.

Thomas Butler married one Eleanor Parker in 1742 and three of their five sons were born in Ireland; Richard, William and Thomas, the fourth Percival or Pierce, and fifth Edward were born in Pennsylvania. It is remarkable that all these men and all of their immediate male descendants, with a single exception, (one was a judge) engaged in the military service of the United States.

Richard, the eldest son, we find a Lieut-Colonel in the 8th Penn. Regiment promoted to Major in 1777, transferred to Morgan's Rifle Corps in 1781 or 82. Colonel of the 5th Penn. Regiment. Agent of Indian affairs in the West and in the expedition of St. Clair in 1791; was second in command, leading the right wing of the Army with the rank of Major-General and was killed in the battle by the Indians, Nov. 4th, 1791 (Tomahawked and scalped, his heart removed, cut in pieces, and divided among the Indian braves).

William Butler, the second son, was an officer throughout the Revolutionary war; rose to the rank of Colonel and was in most of the severest battles. He was the favorite of the family and was boasted of by his race

of heroes as "the coolest and boldest man in battle they had ever known". When the army was greatly reduced in rank and file and there were many superfluous officers, they organized themselves into a separate corp and elected Wm. Butler to the command. General Washington declined to receive the novel corps of commissioned soldiers but in a proud testimonial did honor to their devoted patriotism.

Of Thomas Butler, the third son, and father of our study, Robert Butler, we glean the following: In the year 1776, whilst he was a student of law in the office of the eminent Judge Wilson, of Philadelphia, he left his pursuit and joined the Army as a subaltern. He soon obtained the command of a Company in which he continued until the end of the Revolution. He was in almost every action fought in the middle states. At the Battle of Brandywine he received the thanks of Washington on the field of battle, through his aide-de-camp, General Hamilton; for his interpid conduct in rallying a detachment of retreating troops and giving the enemy a severe fire. At the Battle of the Marmouth he received the thanks of General Wayne for defending a defile in the face of severe fire of the enemy while Col. Richard Butler's Regiment made good its retreat. At the close of the war he retired into private life as a farmer in Pennsylvania, having married one Sarah Jane Semple of Pittsburgh, and continued in the enjoyment of rural and domestic happiness until the year 1791, when he again took the field to meet the savage foe that menaced our Western Front. He commanded a battalion in the disastrous battle led by General St. Clair, Nov. 4th, 1791, when his brother Richard was killed. Orders were given by St. Clair to charge with the bayonet and Major Thomas Butler, though his leg had been broken by a ball, yet on horse back, led the battalion to the charge. It was with difficulty his surviving brother Capt. Edward Butler, removed him from the field, leaving the mortally wounded brother, Richard. In 1792 he was continued in the establishment as Major and in 1794 he was promoted to the rank of Lieut-Colonel, commanding the 4th sub-Legion. He commanded in the year Fort Fayette, at Pittsburgh and prevented the deluded insurgents from taking it, more by his name than his forces, for he had but few troops. The close of his life was embittered by trouble. In 1803, at Fort Adams on the Mississippi, where he was then stationed under General James Wilkinson, he was arrested by said General, over a personal affair, and sent to Maryland where he was tried by a court martial and acquitted of all the charges but that of wearing his hair or queue. He was next ordered to New Orleans where he arrived to take command of the troops Oct. 20th, 1804. He was again arrested the next month but the court did not meet until July of the year 1806 and in the meantime Thomas Butler was stricken with yellow fever in New Orleans and died Sept. 7th, 1805. From this remarkable court martial ensued a notable trial in history and is interestingly portrayed by Washington Irving in his Knickerbocker Tales in the "History of New York", and he has worked up a fine piece of burlesque in which General Wilkinson's character is inimitably delineated in that of the vain and pompous General Von Poffenburg.

Percival Butler, the fourth brother, was born in Carlisle, Pa., in 1760. He entered the Army as a Lieutenant at the age of eighteen; was with Washington at Valley Forge; was in the Battle of the Marmouth and at the taking of Yorktown; being through the whole series of struggles in the middle states, under the Commander-in-Chief, except for a short period when he was attached to a light corps commanded by General Lafayette, who presented him with a sword. Near the close of the war he went South with the Penn. Brigade where peace found him.

He emigrated to Kentucky in 1784. Percival Butler was the last of the old stock left when the war of 1812 commenced. He was made Adjutant-General when Kentucky became a State and in this capacity joined one of the armies sent out by Kentucky during the war

Edward Butler, the fifth and youngest of the five brothers, was too young to enter the army in the first stages of the Revolutionary but joined it near the close and had risen to Captaincy when General St. Clair took the command and led it to that disastrous defeat in which so many of the best soldiers of the country perished. He there evinced the highest courage and strongest fraternal affection, in carrying his wounded brother, Thomas, out of the massacre, which continued for miles along the route of the retreating army, and from which so few escaped, even of those who fled unencumbered. He subsequently became the Adj. General Wayne's Army and died in 1803.

Of the five brothers four had sons - all of whom - with one exception was engaged in the war of 1812.

This glance at the family shows the character of the race and an antidote, derived from an old letter of an old Pennsylvanien, friend of the parents, who transplanted it from Ireland, shows that the military instinct was inherited. "When the five sons", says the letter, "were absent from home in the service of the country the old father took it into his head to go also. The neighbors collected to remonstrate against it; but the wife said, 'Let him go, I can get along without him, and raise something to feed the army in the bargain, and the country needs every man who can shoulder a musket'".

From this retrospect we see that in all the wars of the country, in the Revolutionary, in the Indian Wars, in the war of 1812 and in the Mexican War, the blood of almost every Butler able to bear arms has been freely shed in the public cause.

To return to the life of Thomas Butler, the Revolutionary Soldier with whom we are concerned, we found that he returned to his farm and family in Penn. and there the subject of our story, Robert Butler, was born December 29, 1786, and in 1791, or thereabouts, Thomas Butler, still subject to call in the U. S. Army, was ordered to again give his services to fight the savage foe and was sent to a blockhouse, Fort Pitt, later Pittsburg, a military post, with his family and where Robert Butler spent his boyhood with his two brothers, Thomas and William E. and one sister, Lydia. In 1802, Lieut-Colonel Butler was in the 4th Regiment of Infantry with pay of \$75.00 per month and was on the staff of General James Wilkinson and at New Orleans in 1801 where began his famous trouble with Wilkinson and at that time a close friend of Andrew Jackson and about whom Jackson sent an appeal to Congress, in January of 1805 signed by some of the best citizens of Davidson County, Tennessee, to set aside the court martial of Colonel Butler and denouncing Wilkinson's order "as an act of tyranny" and requesting the case be closed; which was refused. Colonel Butler with his family was then living in Davidson County, Tennessee, on a plantation which he called "The Farm".

Before his death in September 1805, Thomas Butler had written Andrew Jackson to "extend a father's guidance to his three boys," and here I begin the first personal item of Robert Butler, found in Marquis James' "Andrew Jackson the Border Captain", in which he says "Andrew Jackson had seen the oldest son, Robert, grow to be a fine man, more than six feet tall and an embodiment of the virtues that warmed his heart", so from now on we will find our hero closely connected in every way with his great friend, Andrew Jackson, of whom Thomas H. Benton says, was a remarkable man, possessing the personal

qualities of cordial and graceful manners, hospitality, temper, elevation of mind, undaunted spirit, generosity and perfect integrity and a leading trait of his character - that of encouraging young men in their laudable pursuits".

In 1805 we find Andrew Jackson interested in horse racing and he had bought an interest in a track, "Elorer Bottom", close by his home with William and Patton Anderson, brothers, where could be found all the notables of the countryside and young people gathered around and at the home of Rachel and Andrew Jackson. "The last event of the season was to come off with a full representation of notables of Tennessee and surrounding country and the betting was heavy and Mrs. Jackson, an ardent lover of the turf, with her favorite niece, Rachel Hays, a lively, laughing girl, surrounded by many admirers, was the center of an enthusiastic crowd and we assume Robert Butler was one of these admirers for it was only a few years later, in 1808 or 1809 that these two were married at the "Hermitage" and which called for a gathering of relatives and friends to celebrate the occasion "and nothing seemed wanting to insure their happiness." The newly married couple began life on Robert's plantation close by the "Hermitage" and he now had an imputus to increase his ownings and slaves and was occupied there until 1812 when he joined with General Wm. H. Harrison to fight the Indians. He was made a captain in the U. S. Army and speaks for himself from his "Memoirs" written in 1849 and published in the "Nashville Union" -- I was a Captain in 1812 and Adj-General in 1813; in the 2nd investment of Camp Meigs under General Clay Green, of Kentucky, when assailed by the combined forces of Indians and British under Proctor; with General Harrison in his descent on upper Canada; re-occupation of Detroit and forming of his army of the 5th of Oct. 1813; in the absence of the Adj. General Gaines. left at the latter's place, when Gen. Proctor's combined forces were defeated. The British troops taken prisoners and Tecumseh killed by Col. Johnson; was appointed Adj-General of the 8th military department in March 1813; vice-General Gaines promoted, having previously served with Brigadier General Cass at Detroit and receiving a high testimonial from him for arduous services in mustering the troops under his command during the inclement winter of 1813, and where my counsel in a board of field officers was mainly instrumental in saving the troops from famine, the Lake being frozen over."

This brings up to June of 1814 when General Jackson succeeded General Wm. H. Harrison as commander of the 7th military District embracing Tennessee, Louisiana, and Mississippi Territory and the Secretary of War writes to General Jackson that he is transferring Colonel Robert Butler to his division which shows him a Colonel at the time of his transfer and he was immediately made Adj-General to Jackson because we find his signature to papers after this date.

Just a few weeks later, in July, we find General Jackson, his officers and a small regiment leaving for Fort Jackson where he was sent to make a treaty with the Creek Indians who were giving trouble at that time and the treaty was concluded Aug. 10th, and from Fort Jackson the General and his men moved on to Mobile, from which place Robert Butler was sent to Tennessee to recruit an army with which to meet the British at Pensacola, as General Jackson had learned of the British inciting the Indians to cause trouble in that section and here we again have Robert Butler's own words of being sent back to Nashville to await instructions from General Jackson who had proceeded to Mobile. "On the 10th of Sep., 1814, I received my instructions to have mustered and marched for the Creek nation, one regiment of militia from Middle Tennessee, and a battalion from East Tennessee to relieve the troops in the several forts whose terms of service were about to expire, and with a view ultimately to cover the defence of Mobile. Also raised a corp of mounted

volunteers, to be commanded by General John Coffee. These orders were faithfully executed and I witnessed the march of the regiment of militia from Fayetteville after having them mustered into service, gave the necessary orders for the organization of Coffee's command, then arriving daily, may hourly, from distant counties, under my public appeal through printed hand bills and the public papers. I gave General Coffee instructions from his government, and the route he was to march to St. Stephens, on the Tombeckbee, where he would and did, meet further instructions. I then proceeded with a company of rangers to join the General at Mobile, who was pleased to give me one of the highest testimonials that ever was given by a superior officer, for the faithful and speedy execution of his orders." Reid also says "Robert Butler executed General Jackson's orders with his usual activity and industry and with Capt. Baker and some regulars advanced to Mobile, which place he reached in 14 days and from there they moved on to Fort Montgomery a short distance above the Florida line and here they were joined by General Coffee, Nov. 7, with his brigade; "and bear in mind," says Butler, "being three days short of two months from the day I received the Generals orders, the same brigade having been raised, mustered and marched nearly 500 miles".

Here let R. K. Call, then a Captain, tell of the descent on Pensacola which he writes in a letter in 1844. "We arrived at Fort Montgomery just in time to follow our beloved General in his bold enterprise to drive the enemy from their strong position in a neutral territory. The van-guard of the army, destined for the invasion of Louisiana, had made Pensacola its headquarters and the British navy in the Gulf of Mexico, had rendezvoused in that beautiful bay. The penetrating sagacity of General Jackson discovered the advantage of the position assumed by the British forces and with a decision and energy which never faltered, he resolved to find his enemy even under the flag of a neutral power. This was done by a prompt and rapid march, surprising and cutting off all the advanced pickets until we arrived within gunshot of the Fort of Pensacola. The street we entered in Pensacola was defended by a battery in front, which fired on us incessantly while several strong blockhouses on our flanks, discharged upon us small arms and artillery. But a gallant and rapid charge soon carried the guns in front and the town immediately surrendered."

And here again I quote from the "Memoirs" of Robert Butler. "After the descent on Pensacola, the General turned to Mobile and made the necessary arrangements for its defense, having previously despatched Coffee's command through the country to Sandy Creek, on the Mississippi River, while we proceeded to New Orleans, by land, arriving in that city on Dec. 1st, 1814."

Here let Parton tell us of the arrival of General Jackson in New Orleans. "It was along this road, early on the morning of Dec. 2nd, 1814, that a party of gentlemen rode at a brisk trot from the Lake toward the city*** Though devoid of all military display, and even of the ordinary equipment of soldiers, the bearing and appearance of these men betokened their connection with the profession of arms. The chief of the party, which was composed of five or six persons, was a tall, gaunt man, of very erect carriage, with a countenance full of stern decision and fearless energy, but furrowed with care and anxiety. His complexion was sallow and unhealthy, his hair was iron grey, his body thin and emaciated, like that of one who had just recovered from a lingering and painful sickness. His dress was simple and threadbare. A small leather cap protected his head and a short Spanish blue coat his body, whilst his feet and legs were encased in high dragoon boots, long ignorant of polish or blacking, which reached to his knees."

"This leader was indeed Andrew Jackson, who had come fresh from the glories and fatigue of his brilliant Indian campaigns in his unostentatious manner, to the city which he had been sent to protect from one of the most formidable periods that ever threatened a community. Robert Butler age twenty-eight, at that time was Adj-General to General Jackson and one of the officers in close attendance. Of Jackson's reception in New Orleans I will not give details as much has already been written but bear in mind that Robert Butler shared in all of this glory and let him here tell of a deed that did much toward winning the Battle of New Orleans and covered fully by Parton, Latour and Marquis James and others not knowing that Robert Butler was the one to issue such important orders: "General Jackson having gone on a tour of inspection of the Lakes and surroundings about New Orleans leaving me in command with discretionary powers and the right to issue orders, therefore, upon the official intelligence of the attack on Lieut. Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, in charge of six gunboats and carrying 23 guns and 182 men, in Lake Borgne and the capture of the gallant Jones, I despatched, after an hour's deep reflection, early on the 15th of December, and on my own responsibility, an express with orders to proceed day and night (not sparing horse flesh) the bearer of instructions as by command to General Coffee and Col. Hinds of the Mississippi Dragoons, to proceed by forced marches for the protection of New Orleans; and also for General Carroll, then supposed to be near Coffee on the river, with the Tennessee and Kentucky militia in flat boats, directing him to double man his oars and so affect his arrival in time.

On the evening of the next thereafter, the General arrived in headquarters and in personal conversation, he disapproved of my having despatched the express alleging that the enemy might ascent Lake Ponchartrain, and get in his rear. I urged the defence of the narrows by the fortress of Coquille. On the morning of the 19th however, he despatched a large steam boat to aid Carroll's descent. By a movement almost a precedent in the annals of history Coffee arrived in time to take an important part in an attack made on the British camp, on the evening of the 23rd. of Dec. 1814, below New Orleans on which occasion I had the honor, under the Major General's orders, to form the army for action, and led three charges on the river under his eye during that important engagement, the fortuitous issue of which became the rock of confidence to our inexperienced troops, leading on to victory and the final expulsion of the enemy. Had I waited the return of the commander-in-chief neither Carroll, Coffee or Hinds would have arrived in time."

The following days were busy with preparations by both the Americans and British, two battles having taken place one on Dec. 23rd and one on Dec. 27th. Then on Jan. 1st, New Years day 1815, General Jackson thinking to relieve the tension of his soldiers and as something of a celebration of the day ordered a grand review of his army between the lines and his headquarters. Of just such a scene did the British take advantage. Around ten o'clock in the morning, the heavy fog having lifted, they opened fire with thirty pieces of cannon and the Americans were thrown into instantaneous confusion. The enemy having learned in which house General Jackson had his head-quarters, directed their fire upon same and the General and his officers escaped the debris without injury, although Col. Robert Butler was knocked down by falling timber. General Jackson immediately upon the field began to issue commands and to encourage his men by observing: "Don't mind those rockets they are mere toys to amuse the children."

Colonel Butler whom the General had seen prostrated at head-quarters, came up to the lines covered with dust.

"Why, Colonel Butler", roared the General, "is that you?, I thought you were killed."

"No, General, only knocked over"

But this was no time for personal anxiety the battle must be won and so it was, the 1st day of January ended by being a happy one for the Americans after all.

Again I cannot go further into particulars of what occurred during the time up to the final victory of January 9th, or of the many interesting events which took place but I do want to note that there were four Butlers, all officers, at the Battle of New Orleans, and all closely associated with General Jackson. Colonel Robert Butler, the highest in rank; Major Thomas L. Butler, a first cousin to Robert, who was stationed in the City to see that martial law was enforced; Capt. Wm. O. Butler, brother of Thomas L, and later to rise to high fame; and Lieut. William E. Butler, younger brother of Robert. Also we find Capt. R.K. Call winning military honors and letters written years later show incidents of his stay in New Orleans.

We find General Jackson and staff in New Orleans until March, of 1815. Robert Butler's life back in Tennessee from that time until December 1817 when General Jackson received orders from the War Department to make ready to fight the Indians in Florida, was occupied with his family and plantation in Davidson County near the Hermitage.

This Florida campaign, history tells us, was the cause of great trouble afterwards to General Jackson. The march from Tennessee was through Georgia, a full account of which is given in American State Papers with most interesting facts of the country surrounding Tallahassee. From Fort Gadsden, on the Apalachicola River, the army marched to the Miccosukee Towns thence to St. Marks and from there as far as the Suwannee River reporting a most successful campaign. Back in St. Marks in April where the famous trial of the two prisoners taken, A. Arbuthnot and Robert Christie Ambrister, took place before Generals Jackson and Gaines.

All these proceedings you will find signed by Robert Butler, as Adj-General of the South.

The death warrant "A. Arbuthnot to be suspended by a rope until he is dead"; and "Robert C. Ambrister to be shot," executions to take place between the hours of 8 and 9 A. M. agreeable with the court, April 29, 1818, signed by Robert Butler.

May 5th, 1818 finds the conquerors on their way to Pensacola via Fort Gadsden on May 12th, and on May 28th, Pensacola for the second time surrendered to Jackson and after June 2nd found the army on the march back to Tenn. with Capt. James Gadsden on his way to Washington with full details from General Jackson as to what had taken place in this campaign.

The storm raised in Washington against General Jackson by his enemies and foes, working daily and hourly to tear down and find fault with all he had

done, did not stop the General from again answering the call to duty when ordered, with General Shelby, to make a treaty with the Chickasaw Indians, which was concluded Oct. 19, 1818 at "Old Town" and signed by Robert Butler, as Adj-General, J. C. Bronough and R. K. Call as witnesses.

Here again Robert Butler speaks when he says "I was despatched as the hearer of this Treaty to Washington and thence to Philadelphia with funds to comply with one of the provisions." After this same treaty we will find J. C. Calhoun, not satisfied with his attacks on General Jackson, but also trying to stab in the back all those closest to him as seen from the following taken from "Reports of the American Historical Association."

"While it may not be quite fair to ascribe mercenary motives to Jackson personally, as the Shelby family is said to have done later, this much is certain he was the easy dupe of designing men, and was the devoted friend of land speculators. Upon his several Indian missions he was invariably surrounded by a group of these, selfish and unscrupulous, who never lost a single opportunity to gain their own ends. The Indian records likewise show that the persons selected by him for Clerical work and the like on the treaty ground were not above imposing upon the Government. Note, for instance, the case of Col. Robert Butler, who acted as secretary to this same Chickasaw treaty commission. His rates were so exorbitant that even Calhoun lost patience and refused to honor his bills. (Indian office letter books series I.D, P.329)

I will answer this by saying it is the first record I have seen in print of any of General Jackson's faithful followers being accused of any act detrimental to their character or integrity, or in dishonor to the trust "of an honest man". At least the best parts of their lives, energies, family ties, and blood was actually given to their country, while J. C. Calhoun and Henry Clay played the part of "Gentlemen Dandies" and spent their time in College and in Washington where their brilliant talents, it is true, did much to help the growth of our young nation, but action in this case had to speak louder than words else there would have been no United States.

The seemingly wrong doings of Jackson had gathered momentum by the time Col. Butler reached Washington on his treaty mission and Thomas H. Benton tells of J. C. Calhoun accosting Robert Butler at a social function at the French Ministers' Residence to know: "Why he had written General Jackson to come to Washington."

To which Butler replied, "that he (Jackson) might see that justice was done him in person." Mr Calhoun turned from Col. Butler without another word but in an air of anger and vexation made an indelible impression on the Colonel's mind. It was evident enough that he did not desire but rather feared General Jackson's presence in Washington.

Congress being in session the whole matter was aired and political tension ran high but General Jackson was there to face any charge brought against him, supported by a few loyal followers, against the attacks of Clay and Calhoun. But all this could not and did not stop Jackson's ever increasing popularity and on leaving Washington he proceeded to Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York where his acclaim was great.

In April 1819, after the return from Washington, General Jackson was occupied with building the second "Hermitage", a more pretentious and livable

home for Rachel and many things occupied his and Robert Butler's lives, among them the trial of Col. William King ordered to be held Oct. 20, 1819, in Mobile but postponed until Nov. 15 on account of an epidemic of yellow fever in that place. Col. King was court martialed because of acknowledged misuse of Government property and authority and the case was finally tried at Cantonment Montpelier and ran into the Spring of 1820.

In 1821, President Monroe, upon the ratification of a Treaty with Spain for the purchase of Florida, appointed Jackson its first Governor, in March of that year. We find that General Jackson and Mrs. Jackson "sailed from Nashville at 1 P. M. for New Orleans Apr. 12, 1821, having already sent Capt. Call to Montpelier to make necessary arrangements and Robert Butler having been selected by General Jackson to receive West Florida at St. Augustine was, we assume, sent to Charleston, S.C. from which place he went by boat to St. Augustine as he says he found things in readiness at Charleston for the removal of the Spanish to Havana. And here I give you a letter from J. C. Calhoun, Secy. of War to General Jackson in regard to this transfer:

Department of War, Mch. 22nd 1821

To Andrew Jackson,

Sir: To execute the instructions which you have received, through the Department of State to take possession of East and West Florida, you will proceed with as little delay as practicable, to the cantonment at Montpelier, where as has been communicated to you in your instructions, you will receive notice of the arrival of Col. Forbes at Pensacola.

The Deputy Quarter-Master, Major Stanton has been ordered to the same place, who will receive and execute your commands as connected with the Quarter Masters Dept. and the enclosed copies of orders from that and the Commissary Department will inform you of the arrangements, which have been made, as to transports and provisions. Major Cross will be ordered to Amelia Island to superintend the arrangements to that quarter, and I trust that on your arrival at the Cantonment you will find these arrangements so far matured, that you will be ready to take possession in a very short period, should the Spanish authorities be prepared to give it. It was deemed advisable to issue orders here, to avoid any possible delay.

General Gaines has been ordered to this place, where he will be by the 10th of the next month, to aid with his advice and information in the reduction of the Army; and it is doubtful whether he will return to his Headquarters in time to take possession of St. Augustine, should you in the exercise of your powers select him for that purpose, and I would suggest therefore in that event that you should at the same time give provisional power to some officer to act in his place, should he be absent.

The 4th Regiment of Infantry and the Company of Artillery at Mobile will occupy Pensacola and the Barancas; the Garrisons of Fort Gadsden, which will be evacuated, will occupy St. Marks, and the two companies of artillery, sent from Boston to Amelia Island, St. Augustine. They will be governed in their movements for that purpose by your orders. The companies ordered to Amelia Island, with the provisions which have been ordered by the Commissary General to that place for the transportation of the Spanish Garrison at St. Augustine to the Havana, will go in the transports to St. Augustine."

From New Orleans General and Mrs Jackson, in their carriage, proceeded to Montpelier, Ala., April 29, and he speaks of sending his personal friends

Dr. J. C. Bronough and Judge Brackenridge to Pensacola to confer with the Spanish Governor Callava as to just when he would be ready to hold the ceremonies of transferring the Flags. The Jacksons remained in Montpelier all of May and until June 10th awaiting the arrival of the U. S. S. "Hornet" which was to carry the Spaniards from Pensacola and St. Marks to Havana, Cuba after the transfer of Flags. There was much detail work to be attended to and with the mode of travel by land and sea such as it was at that date, the transfer did not take place until 10 A.M. July 17th, with full ceremonies which you have no doubt read much of in histories.

Here let us note that some historians and such enemies as Jackson had, say he was followed by many "favor seekers". Among these supposed friends were: Dr. J.C. Bronough, Judge H. M. Brackenridge, R. K. Call, James Gadsden, Robert Butler, John Donalson, and Samuel R. Overton, and from then on these names fill the pages of Florida History.

To return to Robert Butler, he arrived in St. Augustine, May 24th, 1821 and from the voluminous correspondence he had with Governor Coppenger from the time of his arrival in St. Augustine until the actual transfer of Flags is fully covered and makes interesting reading in American State Papers, and I will not here attempt to give more of such affairs but will hasten on upon noting that we find Col. Gadsden was sent with important dispatches from General Jackson to Col. Butler and that he sailed from Pensacola on June 29th on the U.S. S. "Revenge" for St. Augustine, arriving there just a few hours before the ceremonies in the morning of July 10th; this is to give you an idea of the time it took to sail around the peninsular of Florida at that time, after which the Spanish Governor, Coppenger and other Spanish subjects who desired to leave were sent to Havana. Robert Butler and James Gadsden then joined General Jackson in Pensacola, which place they reached August 8th, 1821. General Jackson was not as lucky in Pensacola in getting rid of the Spanish Governor, Callava, with the others sent to Havana and here we find troubles arising.

One Mercedes Vidal Padro, claimed to be an heir and successor to the property of her father, Nicholas Vidal, and appealed to Judge Brackenridge to aid her in establishing her claim, reporting that the papers proving the same were in the possession of Governor Callava with the Spanish archives. General Jackson then claimed the authority to demand these papers from Governor Callava and from this arose more trouble for Jackson, because this controversy kept up for over two months and here I give you some reports of General Jackson's to Washington to show a little of what was going on:

"On Aug. 22nd, Callava, his servant Fullerat and one Sousa were arrested and thrown in the calabouse, while Geo. Walton, John Miller, D. Shannon and T. Brownjohn were ordered to proceed to Callava's house and make a thorough search for the papers desired. This they did and broke open boxes, etc., and obtained the proper papers which they carried to Governor Jackson. The prisoners were released on the 24th and soon afterward Governor Callava was in Washington reporting to Congress what had happened in Pensacola which caused Monroe, Clay and Calhoun to be more anxious than ever as to what to do with Andrew Jackson.

Butler
Robert Jackson you will find was occupied in assisting General Jackson in this controversy from his arrival in Pensacola on August 8th until his departure on August 25th. From a letter written by Mrs. Jackson to her brother in Tennessee I found that young Andrew, the adopted son of the Jacksons was

entrusted to the care of Robert Butler on this trip to Tennessee.

In October, General and Mrs. Jackson themselves departed for Nashville, at which place they arrived November 3rd, 1821, Jackson knowing that his service in Florida was over and dispatching Dr. J. C. Bronough to Washington with full reports of his actions as Governor of the Territory of Florida. Col. George Walton, Secretary of the Territory, was appointed by Jackson to be Governor and have all powers as such during his absence in Tennessee, all of which was reported to Washington and Col. Walton remained the Governor until March of 1822, when the President appointed William P. Duval, formerly of Kentucky, and then U. S. Judge of East Florida, as Governor.

Upon the return of Robert Butler to Tennessee to take up private life once more I have found nothing, except that he returned to his plantation. On November 16th, 1821, he resigned from the regular army of the United States. In this connection I will let General orders of the Board of General Officers speak, and a letter of praise by Andrew Jackson to Robert Butler. "The re-organization of the Army took place in 1821 and I was arranged, and subsequently mustered for some months as Colonel of the 4th Infantry (My father had command of the old 4th regiment) having previously waived my right, on that condition to the adjutant General of the Army, to which station I was entitled from seniority. When the Army Register for that year was issued it contained, near its close, the following recommendation: "The board of general officers (Brown, Scott and Gaines) beg leave to recommend that, in case Brevet Brigadier General Aitchison should prefer to take a regiment of infantry, (say the 6th) Col. D. L. Clinch be in that case arranged to the 4th, Infantry, Lieut. Colonel Robert Butler as Lieut. Colonel of the 1st. Infantry, Lieut. Col. Taylor as Major of the 7th Infantry, Major Woolley to 4th Artillery as Captain in the place of Captain Sands, the latter transferred to the 1st Infantry in place of Captain Cobb, to be left out."

JACOB BROWN

City of Washington, May 14th, 1821.

Thus was I selected by a Whig board for deduction to a Lieut-Colonel though ranking a Colonel. Towson, who had been arranged as a Colonel from the paymasters Bureau, without rank of command at that time, and one of the board making this recommendation, had then in his possession a letter from General Atkinson refusing the appointment of Adjutant General of which fact another of the Board was subsequently informed and communicated to me. I protested against this arrangement in time and claimed the Adjutant-General-acy as of right by letter to the Secretary of War, of date 6th June, 1821, and was denied.

Subsequently an order of date August 16th emanated from the department attempting to reduce me from a Colonel to a Lieut-Colonel; Col. Zackery Taylor, the SECOND WASHINGTON, now President of the United States to a Major, by this "to be" Whig board. I met the parthian arrow, and sent a message by Lieut. Jonett to Lieut-Col. Taylor, that I did not intend to occupy his grade or be instrumental in reducing him and other meritorious officers from grade to grade and place to place dismissing one from the army- that I would resign first - which I did on the 16th of November, 1821. The President was so fully convinced of the injustice done me that he held over my resignation for some time; and to prevent disorganization to the arrangement, then

in full operation, I was notified that my resignation would not be accepted, but that I would consider myself as one of the disbanded officers, with the advantage of six months pay. Thus terminated my military career, under an arbitrary attempt to reduce my rank by an order; and the sword I wore in honor was returned its scabbard untarnished.

This letter was recieved by Robert Butler upon his arrival in Pensacola after the exchange of Flags and is copied in Surveyor-General reports in office of Commissioner of Agriculture:

Pensacola, August 8th, 1821

TO COLONEL ROBERT BUTLER:

Sir:

Your report of this day is just received giving me the pleasing intelligence of your arrival and that on the 10th, day of July last you occupied the province of East Florida in pursuance of my instructions.

I have examined with great satisfaction the report of your whole proceedings as Commissioner under the second article of the Treaty with Spain to take possession of East Florida with all its dependancies; and it agives me pleasure to say to you on this occasion, as I have the pleasure of saying to you on many other trying ones; that your conduct in this is fully approved.

It has been a source of regret to me, to see the manner in which you and four other meritorious officers have been abused by the unsual and unmilitary recommendation of the Board of General Officers and placed on the Register of the Army but the general emotion and disgust produced on the minds of every impartial soldier and citizen instead of attaching disgrace to you and the other gentlemen against whom it has been levelled, will recoil upon those who have been guilty of this unjust and unmilitary procedure.

In justice to those meritorious officers I could not refrain from making my feelings known to the President of the United States and I applaud your determination, never to permit yourself to be thus disgraced by permitting an unjust decision at Headquarters and remaining in the service of the United States. The ashes of your fore-fathers, who like you fought many battles in defence of their country and now slumber in the dust, would rise up and reprobate so great a condedcention when that country whose Banner in the day of Battle you so often and so nobly have defended, attempts to tarnish the reputation of your name, abandon its service if you have to grub for your support.

Wishing you all the happiness which Gracious Heaven can bestow, believe me to be, with sincere esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

ANDREW JACKSON

Governor of Florida

My records from now on are taken from Robert Butler's reports to Washington as Surveyor General of Florida, U. S. Congressional Records, State Legis-

lative Journals, and newspapers, as well as personal memories of old settlers and of Dr. W. E. Lewis and Mrs Ellen Dorsey, grandchildren of Robert Butler.

Appointed Surveyor General of Florida in the spring of 1824, at a salary of \$2000.00 a year and on July 31, 1824 there is a letter which mentions making bond, of \$30,000 to fill such position and preparations for leaving for Tallahassee and the first records of beginning work upon his arrival in Tallahassee is a report dated Dec. 17th, saying that much had been done in the first few weeks he had been at work.

I also found where Col. Butler speaks of purchasing land from a resident in Tallahassee with some improvements and on which he proceeded to erect a complete dwelling for his family, kitchen, smoke house, dairy, stable, etc. with a garden, yard and a stable lot and also erected a frame building with two apartments which I occupy as an office for transacting my official business and the preservation of Public Records and from thence I made my first reports to Washington". This property was where the Supreme Court Building and the home of Mrs John Henderson now stands, and was occupied by Col. Butler for about two years, or until the surveys and town lots were marked off in Tallahassee and put up for sale in 1828.

We find the new Capital of Florida fast taking shape and the days were busy ones with the buildings going on, the meeting of the Legislative Council business being organized and surveying the city.

To one whom Tallahassee is home and which our ancestors helped to build, a Majestic City indeed soon grew on the former Indian Hills and Judge Breckenridge, in writing to our representative, Col. White, in Congress, describes it as "open groves of beach, hickory, oak and magnolia which far surpass the parks of the English homes of the nobility - cane brakes, plum, wild grapes and strawberries to be found everywhere. By 1827 Tallahassee had a population of 800 persons, with five or six mercantile stores and one wing of the Capitol then completed, a handsome brick building and Col. Butler was chairman of the committee for the building of the Capitol.

A Methodist Church was built in 1825, "perhaps the first Methodist Church in Florida", says Rev. J. B. Lee, "and Tallahassee was then a fast growing place of wealth, fashion and refinement."

In 1825, Florida's first Masonic Lodge was also organized here in Tallahassee and Masonic records tell us "although Robert Butler was not our first grand-master, he was indeed the founder of the Grand Lodge in Florida. Col. Butler was a Mason back in Tenn., being a transfer from Cumberland Lodge # 3, Nashville, as well as his friend Capt. R. K. Call and here are some names of the first Masons in Tallahassee Lodge who are identified with Tallahassee's history: R. W. Williams, Tenn., Isham Green Searcy, later a post-master of Tallahassee, LeRoy May, Davis Floyd, of Indiana, Romeo Lewis, Tenn., E. R. Downing, of Miss., head of the Militia, D. R. Wright, of Penna., G. M. Wolcott of Ga., Samuel Overton of Tenn., and I. J. and Benj. Clements and later Col. Thomas Brown a prominent member of Jackson Lodge # 1. The Masons decided to build them a room in which to have their meetings and subscriptions were taken and the room was built on the property where the Gilmore home now stands.

If you will look at an abstract going back to the beginning of the sale

of city lots in Tallahassee you will find they all commence with date of April 7, 1828, and from these first records of Col. Thomas Brown, which is the property of Miss Mary D. Lewis, great-grand-daughter of Col. Brown, we find that the highest price paid for a city lot, No. 95, was \$450. and is the property now occupied by the Centennial Building and the Sears-Roebuck Building, which in the old city survey shows it as really two lots. The lowest prices paid was \$25. to \$50. Although proper deeds could not be given for property until, as I said, 1828, we find that building was going on just the same and a hotel known as the "Florida House" was on the block across the street from the Capitol facing Adams Street and now part of the property of Dr. H. E. Palmer and the North corner lot. This hotel was owned and run by Mr. Geo Fisher and from now on we will find it the center of political and social life in our city, and I have tried to build up a background from which events in Tallahassee will now move forward.

To show that there were enough people here in 1827 to sponser a Ball, the Pensacola Gazette of Feb. 18th, says "the Council Ball held at the City Hotel and that Col. Fisher prepared a sumptuous repast and served it up in the handsomest style."

Recorded in the early records of the Masonic Lodge, Col. Butler speaking at a regular meeting says "on the eve of my departure for Tennessee", which record was dated June 4, 1825, and in Reports dated Oct. 1825, he speaks of making a trip to Nashville for the purpose of bringing his family to Tallahassee, of selling his plantation in Tenn. and of heavy expense in Tallahassee. Delay caused by the purchase and building of a new carriage.

Since the marriage of Col. Butler to Rachel Hays, I have told you nothing except that they lived on their plantation in Tenn. and spent much time at the "Hermitage". So now I will tell you of the family he was bringing from Tenn. There were three young daughters, Sarah Jane, Naucissa, Ellen Mary, and three sons Robert, Samuel and Jackson and then in April of 1824 was born at the "Hermitage" the last child, Rachel Jackson, a babe in arms, so to say, when she arrived in Tallahassee.

I will try and draw you a picture of this family's journey through the wilderness country, as I have not yet learned which route was taken but imagine by the trails and towns Col. Butler knew so well from his Indian War days. In those days a moving family was a small village in itself, as first came the family coach or carriage, surrounded by the father and other males on horseback, perhaps in this group, the daughters may have taken turns riding horseback as Robert Butler is known to have brought fine blooded stock horses from Tennessee. Next came the slaves, some walking, some on mules, or driving cattle, then the farm wagons carrying the household goods, provisions, farm implements, etc. and the whole party prepared at all times for any trouble from the Indians. They reached Tallahassee presumeably in late December or January and took up their life in the new home Robert Butler had prepared for them.

Needless to say the new Surveyor General was swamped with applications from surveyors for work in the new territory as there are two books in the field notes division of the Commissioner of Agriculture where these applications were filed and many letters of recommendation from noted persons, and many from Andrew Jackson. One from General John Coffee, who had been made surveyor general of Alabama, recommending two Harris boys and says, "I know

you have been swamped with applications, as I was on my appointment, and begs his old friend and fellow officer to call on him if ever he is in that country". Among those given employment, some remaining to become a part of the life of Tallahassee were: Robert W. Williams, Major Romeo Lewis, Mr. McNeil, Col. Allen, I. J. and Benj. Clements, Geo W. Ward, Henry Washington, Isham Green Searcy, Patton Anderson, Chas Haire, John Blocker, and many other families were arriving daily making Tallahassee indeed a center of culture, refinement and Southern hospitality. From Virginia came Col. Thomas Brown and here let him tell of his arrival as given in Mrs Long's "Florida Breezes":

"I came from Virginia, old Farquhar, on the Rappahannock, I had there a superior farm, with the reputation of a good farmer. The style of my buildings and arrangements for hospitality were Virginian, while my land was wearing out and besides, being subject to freshettes, so a change must be made. Florida was the theme; consequently I came on a visit in 1826 bringing 60 negroes with me. I then saw cotton of the proceeding year in bloom, sugar cane, green and growing in Jan., and corn was waist high in Feb. and this was the case during the two following winters. Delighted with the climate, I entered land on Lake Jackson, hired out my negroes and returned to Virginia for my family, having passed an entire winter without frost. Early in the next year I transplanted all that I loved and all that I owned to the picturesque shores of Lake Jackson, where I considered myself anchored for life. And such was my confidence in the climate, that in the year 1828, I planted 130 acres of sugar cane and erected extensive sugar works, costing \$20,000; but workman and materials being difficult to command, I was backward in completing my arrangements for turning cane into sugar; beside I had no fear of frosts. Unfortunately, (as it proved) I had been elected to the Legislature or Territorial Council and this of course obliged me to be in town to attend its sessions. Suffice it to say that there not only came a frost, but a freeze, and by it, I, good easy man, had my plans and cane nipped together, equally to the root. That was in April, 1828, when the forest trees were in full sap, so that many were killed to the ground besides orange and fig trees supposed to be over a hundred years old were killed in St. Augustine. Col. Brown with his charming wife, four daughters and a son were an acquisition to Tallahassee Society, and also here in 1825 was Capt. R. K. Call and his lovely bride, who was Mary Kirkman of Nashville and she and Capt. Call had been married July 14, 1824 at the Presbyterian Chapel on the grounds of the "Hermitage", and at first having a home on Lake Jackson, but were soon to leave as Capt. Call was elected to Congress in 1830 and left for the City.

Also from Virginia came Col. Byrd Willis and family seeking a more healthful climate and from Pensacola Gazette of 1826, I found a notice of the marriage in Tallahassee, by one Ele Van Evour, of Mrs Catherine Dangerfield Willis Grey to Col. Achille Murat, late of France, who had come to Florida in 1825 and after living for some time in St. Augustine moved to some property purchased in the Lafayette grant, later located in Jefferson County.

In 1830 we find changes, Robert Butler has spoken before of trouble over his city property which caused him to begin building another home on Lake Jackson where he owned some nine hundred acres of land, as did Col. Brown and Capt. Call and to this plantation he removed with his family in 1830.

The route to this home was by the "old Bainbridge Road" through property that later belonged to the Tallahassee Pecan Company, then across, the now Quincy Highway, to a beautiful grove of oaks where a comfortable and substantial home, patterned let us imagine, after the "Hermitage" or similar homes in Tenn-

essee, Of two stories, with a large hall way running through both the upper and lower floors, with eight rooms in all. Broad porches across the front and down stairs, and the kitchen off from the house and out buildings and slave quarters still further removed.

The site of this home commanded an expansive view of Lake Jackson and the surrounding hills. Lake Jackson, at the time, was 30 miles around, a large volume of water. The lawn's and flower gardens running to the lake's edge although not perfected until some years later when all danger from the Indians has passed, and there were more slaves added to those already possessed.

I cannot but puzzle my mind as to the dangers Col. Butler faced in his daily ride to town, although he must have been accompanied by one or more slaves and then his family coming back and forth, as the Butler coach and four was a familiar sight on the streets of Tallahassee.

To return now to the outside world, we know that in 1829 General Jackson was elected President of the U. S. and that before leaving for Washington he went through the great sorrow of losing his beloved Rachel, as Mrs. Jackson died, after a long illness, on December 23, 1828, and in Col. Butler's reports under date of Jan. 20, 1829, he writes "the melancholy intelligence of the death of Mrs. Jackson has just reached us," and I am sure this was an occasion of much sorrow to this family so far from their old home.

As Col. Brown said in his story of arrival in Tallahassee and making a home on Lake Jackson, we find that in 1832 he purchased the property of Col. Fisher and the hotel; to which he moved with his family after enlarging or perhaps rebuilding same and which he named the "City Hotel" and here again we find every brilliant assembly of importance taking place.

In Col. Butler's reports for Sept. 10, 1832, he speaks of continued illness and that about every person in the county has been sick. Continued ill all through the spring and in May, 1833 leaves for Tenn. accompanied by his family and to visit his daughter Sarah Jane, who in May 1828, had married Alexander Patton and was then living in Jackson Tenn. Returns to Tallahassee in Oct. and speaks of his sojourn in the Western Country and health much improved. Again in April 1834, he asks for a leave of absence on account of his health but up to June 25th had not received this leave, only a note from President Jackson saying he had ordered his leave of absence. Returned from this trip in Nov.

In February, 1836, we find Col. Butler ordered with a regiment of soldiers as far down as Volusia County in the beginning of the Seminole trouble and again that summer he was in Tennessee.

In reports dated Nov. 23, 1838, we find a letter from Col. Butler to Col. J. M. White, delegate to Congress, asking for an explanation of remarks against his management of the office of surveyor general made in 1831-32 and the reply from Col. White written from his estate "Casa Bianca" in Jefferson County. Col. Butler then writes in his report to the Commissioner in Washington: "If I had not been a member of the Presbyterian Church for four years, an officer and a close communicant I would have called Col. White to meet me on the field of honor."

I think Florida and Tallahassee really experienced its first boom after the Indian Wars were over in 1841 and at that time Col. Butler's friend, R. K. Call, was Governor of Florida and for his services in the Indian wars had

been made a General; and the citizens could breathe more freely and enjoy life.

This they must of done for we have Mrs Long's account of the races which were held in February and then in the St. Joseph Times I found accounts of Col. Brown attending the races there as well as Col. Butler and others bringing their horses. Then another gala occasion was the "Tournaments" held by the Knights of Leon and of which I have a description taken from a newspaper of the '50's telling of the tournament and the winning Knights. Of which the Knight of the Coral Reef was the winner and he proceeded to choose as the "Queen of Love and Beauty" Miss Rachel Patton, Grand-daughter of Col. Butler, and upon her brow placed the wreath and then by her side was ranged the maids of Honor, Miss Rebecca Donaldson, of Tenn., Miss Anna Houston, and Miss Overton, of Virginia, - a circle of beauty shone out in such effulgence as to turn the heart to cinders'***** and such a brilliant cortege escorted by the Knights entered the city*** That night a Tournament Ball was held at the City Hotel and the Knights and Ladies were dressed in fancy costume and they held sway until early morning.

Then I must give you Mrs. Long's account of the "Feast of the Roses" held every year at the Butler plantation when the roses were in full bloom. The ladies were all invited to spend the day with Mrs. Butler and the gentlemen coming out in the late afternoon to remain for the Ball that night.

In speaking of the hostess, Mrs. Butler, Mrs Long says: "She is the neice of Mrs Andrew Jackson a most hospitable lady, with heart and hand she receives friends and strangers in generous and graceful courtesy. Col. Butler is a gallant and proud man, which is admirable when the claim is just. He comes from an illustrious family but his highest attribute is his gallant courage, the grant of nature to five brothers, one of whom was the father of Col. Butler and another the father of Wm. O. Butler of Kentucky. The Colonel is poetical as well as brave. He resembles Sir Walter Scott in appearance and he affects writing poetry and singing Scotch songs, which he does well, and he likes the glamor of fancy, hence the style of invitation to the "Feast of the Roses". Before the home of Col. Butler lay a park of the grandest oaks that a forest could boast. They are millenary to which a hundred year old tree would be but a sprout.

Detached rooms or offices for guests where was found punch and apple toddy, not served in bowls that are shallow or pitchers that will break, but in pails and tubs, newly bought for the occasion served with dippers into tankards and the aroma of lemon was most inviting. One drink at least was the initiative to the revelry, already commenced in the mansion across the yard; but the frequency with which many visited this office throughout the evening would seem that they were indifferent as to "tomorrow's doom". "Thats good music", and none of your Italian stuff; give me "Polly Put the Kettle On" or "Leather Breeches", for a good break-down. Those fiddlers, and the banjo player particularly, were raised on this plantation. Then we entered the hall where the brilliance from thousands of candles presented a scene of beauty and grace and the halls opened into gardens of roses and an orange grove in its first bearing, among which were many wide and inviting walks and beyond the sugar cane that went to the very lake's edge. The Colonel was baronial in his manner, and a very large man, at one time weighting over 300 pounds, a Western man trained in the army, uniting strength with dignity and culture, and the lady of the house, there was more in courtesy and manner than usual in such provincial places. Ah! then supper, it was the mystical hour of midnight when to a march Col. Butler, with Mrs. Call on his arm,

filed into the supper room. Venison, killed in his own forest, turkeys, ducks from his own lake, quail in his own fields, almost at the door, salads, whips, syllabubs, jellies, cakes, tarts, fresh fruits, nuts and raisins. A feast fit for a king and gaily carried out with toasts and songs. The Colonel himself sang, and sang well and recited poetry that was good and original, while others contributed in anecdote and story. And so I have given you a glimpse of some of the festival occasions of days gone by, but handed down from generation to generation.

This brings us up to now, let us say 1842, when Governor Call had again been appointed Governor of the Territory and Tyler President of the U. S. and in the reports, "I found that one day, says Col. Butler, a gentleman walked into my office, handed me a letter from the President, dated, March 21st, 1842, saying that this gentleman, Valentine Y. Conway, was to succeed me as Surveyor-General of Florida". and the records and office were moved to St. Augustine.

In 1845 when President Polk reappointed Col. Butler to his old office he resided in St. Augustine as all reports after that date are dated St. Augustine, where he remained until 1849 when he was again removed from office by President Zachary Taylor. Here Col. Butler writes in his memoirs "of my faithful and arduous services as Surveyor General, from which station I have been unceremoniously thrust (my commission would have expired in about seven months) you have all records and my last annual report to Congress, affords ample and conclusive testimony and is at your command."

There are many other incidents I would like to bring in and would if time permitted, covering the years from 1845 to 1860 but will have to close my paper by giving you the closing facts of the life of this pioneer citizen of Tallahassee whose sudden death occurred Jan 30, 1860, at his plantation on Lake Jackson.

From the Masonic yearly reports I found that Gov. R. K. Call eulogized Col. Butler and here are some of his remarks;

"A sad event has called us together. We meet on a day of sorrow, we meet at the open grave. I have known him in all the relations of a long and eventful life. I have known his many virtues -- but I have known him best of all our members. He was the friend of my youth, in the Lodge he was my brother, in the field my companion in arms, in the wilderness he was my mess-mate. We have shared the same tent, the same privations, the same dangers. As a husband, father and brother he was exemplary in the tenderness and warmth of his affections. As a friend he was true and sincere. As a man he was frank in his manner, firm and inflexible in all his principles, honorable in all his actions and yet so refined in sensibilities, so tender and kind in his sympathies and affection, the unbidden tear would flow at the sight of suffering or a tale of sorrow. As a Mason he was enlightened and full of zeal and if not the first Grand-Master, he was the funder of the Grand Lodge in Florida."

Col. Butler was seventy-four years of age at the time of his death and was spared the heart ache of the Civil War which liberated all of his slaves (over 54 in number at the time of his death) and caused all glory to pass away from his once glamorous plantation, although his son Robert lived on after his father's death, then his youngest daughter, Rachel, Mrs Peter Perkins Lewis and family lived there until the home was burned in 1886.

In 1909 the Grand Lodge of Florida, assisted by Jackson Lodge # 1, with

befitting ceremonies placed a handsome grave stone over the last resting place of Robert Butler at the family burial ground on Lake Jackson and there today the tomb over looks the lake and land he loved so well.

As a matter of record I wish to here give the descendants of Robert and Rachel Hays Butler now living.

Of eight children born to the Butlers only three had issue. Dr. Robert Butler had one daughter, Rachel who married but had no issue.

Sarah Jane Patton had six children. Of these I do not know as they resided in Jackson, Tennessee. The one daughter, Rachel Butler Patton, married William Anderson and lived on a plantation on Lake Jackson, her mother's portion of the Butler property. Mrs. Anderson's son, D. C. Anderson married Naomi Harbert and their children now living are: Warren, Roland, Anna Jane, Mrs Lucille A. Haefflinger of High Point, N.C., Herbert and Edgar. Rachel Jackson Butler married Dr. P. P. Lewis, a dentist of Georgia, and a son, Dr. W. E. Lewis and a daughter, Mrs. Ellen Dorsey are now living. Dr. Lewis had two daughters, Florence and Orlena. Florence married W. G. M. Davis, of Tallahassee and left two sons W.G. M. Davis Jr. and William Lewis Davis of Tallahassee. Orlena married C.P. Collins of Monroe, Louisiana.

Mrs. Dorsey had one son by a first marriage, Clarence Shine, now living in Key West, Florida, with his wife and two daughters, Virginia and Winifred.

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Also many other volumes and unpublished material in my research on this article.

Dr. W. E. Lewis and Mrs. Ellen Dorsey have been most kind in telling me facts of the family and allowing me to examine family records and other materials.

LEON COUNTY'S NEWSPAPERS

by

JOHN KILGORE

Tallahassee's newspaper history is richer and older than that of any other Florida save two, Pensacola and Saint Augustine.

Although a newspaper was printed in Saint Augustine as early as 1783 and continuous publications were begun there by two newspapers, the Gazette and the Floridian in 1821, the same year that a pioneer paper was begun at Pensacola. Tallahassee was the third community in the state to be served with a periodical.

The Florida Intelligencer, established in Tallahassee, February 19, 1825, was less than a year younger than the first permanent newspaper to be published at Pensacola, - the Pensacola Gazette and the West Florida Advertiser, which appeared in March, 1824.

In recent years all Leon county newspapers have been published from Tallahassee, but since in the early days Leon county extended to the gulf, mention will be made of the journals printed in all of Leon county before the division which created Wakulla.

The history of Leon county newspapers is involved and includes many changes in the names of periodicals, in ownership and the editorial personnel. To keep this record as straight as I can, therefore, I shall ignore chronological order and, beginning with the first established newspaper, trace it through its various stages until its existence ceased. The same treatment will give the life history of each newly established newspaper, in order, although it will be necessary to ignore the logical time sequence.

Intelligencer---Advocate

Gordon, Crane & Co., established the Intelligencer in Tallahassee the year after the first Territorial Council was convened here. The Intelligencer was financed, in part at least, by W. Hassell Hunt, owner of the Pensacola Gazette. The other partners were Adam Gordon and Ambrose Crane. Type, press and paper for the Intelligencer were brought to Tallahassee from Pensacola when there were few inhabitants in this community.

At first, the Intelligencer was published intermittently while the printing plant was busy with publication of the Territorial laws. It was apparent that the state printing had attracted the establishment of the plant here and the publication of a newspaper was, at first, incidental.

Gordon left the Intelligencer firm at the close of 1825. By February of 1826 Ambrose Crane was sole publisher, by July control had passed to Algernon

S. Thurston. It was bought by Edgar Macon in February of the following year, Macon changed the name of Tallahassee's only newspaper in March 1827 to the Florida Advocate. In October John D. Davenport became publisher. Beall and Greenup were the first editors but were succeeded by L. A. Thompson in 1829.

Macon owned the Advocate less than a year when he sold it to Joseph D. Davenport in October. Davenport was publisher and Thompson editor when it amalgamated in August, 1829, with the Floridian, which had been established as the second newspaper in the field in 1828.

It would be straining a point to say that the first Tallahassee news paper had never ceased publication but, if some concessions are made in technical accuracy, the claim might be advanced that the Floridian became the successor of the advocate, which was the Intelligencer under a new title and that the Floridian remained the same publication after its removal to Jacksonville. The Floridian was, in fact, moved to that city and is still published as a weekly newspaper.

Ambrose Crane one of the proprietors of the Intelligencer was a Commissioner for the sale of lots in Tallahassee in 1825.

Adam Gordon was associated with W. Hassell Hunt as editor of the Pensacola Gazette, before the two became partners in the Tallahassee venture.

Leslie A. Thompson was a distinguished attorney and not a newspaper man by training. He served as editor of the Advocate from February to August 1829 and temporary editor of the Floridian in 1831 but these were two minor interruptions in his public career. He was treasurer of Tallahassee in 1829, intendant (mayor) of the city in 1830, 1832 and 1840, judge of Leon county, trustee of Leon academy, delegate to the constitutional convention and chairman of the meeting here in protest against the activities of the abolitionists. After statehood he became a justice of Florida Supreme Court and compiled a notable digest of statutes. In 1854 he moved to Texas.

Algeron E. Thruston, was an attorney in Tallahassee, when he became editor and proprietor for a brief period of the Intelligencer. He was born in Kentucky, near Louisville and moved from here to Key West where he was collector of customs in 1830.

The Floridian

Tallahassee's second newspaper, the Floridian has the longest record of any Leon county publishing enterprise from its organization in October 1828 to the removal of the plant to Jacksonville and its continuous publication there since under the same name. The Floridian was the most influential paper in Florida for a half century.

It was first published by William Wilson. It was well edited and of a high mechanical excellence. When the Advocate was consolidated with the Floridian in 1829, the combined papers were known as the Floridian and Advocate for a few months and was published by Wilson and Davenport until Wilson became the sole proprietor and changed the name back to the Floridian.

Wilson came to Florida, a young man, expecting to die soon of consumption; instead he was restored to robust health.

In politics the Floridian was always strongly democratic, violently so at times.

Samuel S. Sibley became proprietor in April 1837 and developed the Floridian into the state's leading democratic organ. Dr. Edward R. Gibson was associated with Sibley in 1840-41; he had a high reputation in the Florida press, and until his death in 1841 had control of the paper. Sibley again was sole proprietor from 1841, after the death of Gibson and the end of association with others in that year during which the publishers were Gibbons and Hibbard for a few months and F. H. Flagg, was in temporary control from September to December.

Sam. S. Sibley was a native of New Jersey and published newspapers there until he came to Tallahassee to take charge of the Floridian. When he sold his interest in the paper to E. R. Gibson he moved to Saint Joseph where his wife died of yellow fever. He took his daughter up the river and to Louisville Ky, then returned to Tallahassee and resumed charge of the Floridian. In 1849 he moved to Savannah to become one of the publishers of the Georgian and died there in 1858. He held few public offices, if any, but was always primarily a newspaperman. He was regarded as one of the most able journalists of his day.

An idea of Sibley's style, typical of territorial journalism, may be gleaned from this attack he made on the editor of the Apalachicola Currier: "He was once in some capacity or other at Oxford-- hence he is a learned man. He once listened to the rhapsodies of Irving-- hence he is a profound theologian. He has had legal controversies,-- hence he knows something about law, civil and criminal. Crediting his own accounts, he has been a wonderful traveller."

Although Sibley made the Floridian the most influential newspaper in the territory he did not exercise as much influence over thought in the state as did his successor in the editorship of that newspaper, Charles E. Dyke.

Dyke was at the helm of the Floridian in the trying days before secession and in reconstruction days. During the War Between the States, Dyke volunteered as a first lieutenant and was promoted to captain of battery in the light artillery. The records indicate that he and his men were at the Battle of Olustee.

When the state was in the hands of carpetbaggers, Captain Dyke stuck to his democratic allegiance while, his competitor, the Sentinel turned republican. In 1865 the Floridian was seized by the United States government but was returned to the owners, then Dyke & Sparhawk, due to the influence of Judge Marvin, provisional governor.

Dyke, regarded as the most powerful figure in Florida journalism, was a native of Ontario, Canada. He was born in 1821 and came to Apalachicola in 1839 to answer an advertisement for a printer. He became one of the publishers of the Florida Journal there in 1841 following the disastrous yellow fever epidemic. In 1842 he came to Tallahassee and began his long association on the Floridian.

He was owner of the Floridian, alone or with partners from 1847, when he bought a half interest from Sibley, to 1883 except during two brief intervals. Tallahassee was his home until his death here, February 7, 1887.

Sibley and Dyke sold the paper to Judge A. E. Maxwell and Judge R. B. Hilton in 1849 but Dyke bought back Maxwell's interest the same year. In 1851 Dyke bought Hilton's interest. He later sold a half interest to Dr. J.S. Jones but soon bought it back. In 1854 Dykes and Williams were publishers. In 1858 Dykes sold a half interest to J.B. Carlisle who retained it until 1863, the year of his death. The Carlisle interest was sold to C. K. Sparhawk.

In 1871 Charles E. Dyke, Jr., became associated with the Floridian as partner with his father. He died in 1878 and Captain Dyke sold an interest to Frank B. Papy, a prominent Tallahasseean interested in the railroad business, who retired in 1879, leaving Dyke in sole charge again.

In 1883 Captain Dyke sold the entire property to Dorr and Bowen. Capt. James W. Dorr came here from Pensacola; he left here to go to southern Florida after retiring from the partnership in 1888.

Newton Marion Bowen, as sole proprietor of the Floridian for the next period, continued its strongly democratic flavor and was a power in Florida journalism. He was born in Newton, Mass., in 1840 and came to Tallahassee after publishing newspapers in Charleston, S.C. and Americus and Griffin, Ga., He was editor of the Floridian under Dyke and continued his association as such and as proprietor for 15 years.

Associated with Bowen in the publication of the Floridian were, John G. Collins, founder of the Democrat and Thomas E. Barefoot, Bowen's brother-in-law and son of Thomas B. Barefoot, who was proprietor of the semi-weekly News in Tallahassee during the Civil War.

Bowen sold the Floridian to Charles W. DaCosta, of Jacksonville in 1891. Da Costa was at the time publisher of the Dispatch, Farmer and Fruit Grower in Jacksonville. Bowen, who had been sole proprietor since 1888, retired except for the continuation of an insurance business he also had established.

In retiring from the Floridian, Bowen wrote:

"In retiring from the Floridian, we feel that we would be derelict in our duty were we to fail to express our appreciation of the invaluable services of Mr. Willis Ball, our esteemed, efficient and faithful assistant who remains with the Floridian under the new management. He is young and industrious, a graceful and forceful writer, infatuated with the profession and will, ere long, be justly rated among the brightest and ablest journalists of the state."

This was written of the present editor of the Florida Times-Union who received his first newspaper training in Tallahassee under the guidance of Editor Bowen of the Floridian.

Da Costa died a short time after acquiring the Floridian and it passed into the hands of Albert M. Williamson, who moved the plant to Jacksonville at about the end of the century. Williamson had served in the senate from Citrus, Hernando and Pasco counties.

Magnolia Advertiser

In the same year that the town of Magnolia was established eight miles north of Saint Marks Fort on the Saint Marks river in 1828, Augustus Steele established the Magnolia Advertiser there. Steele was born in Connecticut but was southern in sentiment. His newspaper survived only until 1830 when there were but three publications in the entire territory and only one in Leon County. He moved to Cedar Keys and held office there for many years until driven from his home by the northern invasion after which he moved to Wellborn, Fla., where he died in 1864.

Florida Courier

William Mortimer Smith established the Florida Courier in Tallahassee in 1830. E. R. Gibson was associated with him as editor. The Courier survived only for two years.

According to the Floridian the publishers of the Courier lost \$2,000. on the venture. The plant published what is believed to be the first fiction book printed in Florida, Don Pedro Casender's "The Lost Virgin of the South," a novel of 327 pages.

Dr. Edward R. Gibson was a native of Maryland. He came to Saint Augustine as early as 1823 and was a member of the second territorial council. After his failure with the Courier he went to Washington, D.C. as associate editor of the United States Telegraph. As we have noted, he became one of the proprietors of the Floridian in 1840 and died the following year of yellow fever at Saint Joseph.

Gazette and Advertiser

John Baldwin and David Sheffer established the Tallahassee Gazette and General Advertiser in November 1835. It survived but a few months.

Florida Intelligencer

Edward Chandler and C. R. Sessions established the Florida Intelligencer in Tallahassee in January 1836. Chandler was born in the District of Columbia. He died in Tallahassee the same year the Intelligencer was established and publication was discontinued immediately thereafter.

Watchman Star

Joshua Knowles bought the printing equipment that had been used by the Intelligencer and established the Florida Watchman and Tallahassee Literary Gazette, November 1836. G. W. Hutchins became a partner in 1838 and the name was shortened to The Florida Watchman. Knowles and Hutchins sold to J. B. Webb in 1839 and the name changed to the Star.

The Star was sold to B. F. Whitner in 1839 for \$7,750. and by him to C. E. Bartlett in 1840, thus bringing into Tallahassee journalism one of the most distinguished publishing families of Florida and perhaps of the nation. Bartlett's sons, Washington and C. Julian became proprietors in 1844. Under this family ownership the Star became one of the state's outstanding organs. It was independent whig in politics.

Knowles will be noticed in connection with the Sentinel which he afterwards founded. Webb, had been editor of the Republican Herald at Columbus, Ga., before coming to Tallahassee. He went from here to Apalachicola where he published the Journal. He was noted for superior editorial style.

Cosam Emir Bartlett was born in New Hampshire, studied at Dartmouth College, was admitted to the bar and came south to Columbia, S.C. where he became an editor. In 1817 he became one of the editors of the Columbian Museum at Savannah and later, with his brother, Myron, published the Macon Telegraph. He established the Savannah Mercury and later edited the Columbus Ga., Democrat, and established the Apalachicola Gazette. His daily edition of the Gazette gave Florida its first daily newspaper, in 1839, the only daily published in the state in territorial times.

He exercised his ability to the fullest extent after purchasing the Tallahassee Star and after his sons assumed control, continued to write for it and retained an interest in its affairs. The Star became the Southern Journal in 1846 when he ceased his connection. He died in 1850 near Columbus. In Apalachicola he was intendant, councilman, delegate to the constitutional convention. In Tallahassee he was twice unsuccessful candidate for intendant on the whig ticket, and president of the convention of Florida editors in 1841.

C. E. Bartlett was reconized as one of Florida's greatest editors. His writing was tempered with good natured humor but he was famous for resolution. It is told of him that while in Georgia he was threatened by a group of men who came to his office to string him up. He held a lighted match to a keg of gunpowder and ordered them out or he would set fire to the powder and blow them all to bits. The men departed. His editorials were at times incisive and the Star, during his editorship was said to have been the equal of the Floridian in every respect except influence.

Washington Bartlett, born in Savannah, became temporary editor on his father's Apalachicola Gazette when he was 16 years old. The name of the firm was changed the same year to Washington Bartlett & Co, when his father came to Tallahassee to edit the Star. He and his brother, Cosam Julian Bartlett were proprietors of the Star until it became the Southern Journal in 1849, after which he went to California and became successively, editor of the Daily Journal of Commerce, The Daily Evening News, The True Californian, State Senator, Mayor of San Francisco and Governor of California.

Cosam Julian Bartlett was born at Milledgeville, Ga., While in Tallahassee, associated with his father, he studied law under Leslie A. Thompson, who has been mentioned as an editor. He was admitted to the bar in New Orleans, followed his brother to California where he was associated with him on newspapers until he became editor and one of the proprietors of the San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin.

After the Star had been renamed the Southern Journal it was absorbed by the Floridian.

The Florida Sentinel

Joshua Knowles who sold the Watchman went to Quincy and there established the Quincy Sentinel, in 1839. He moved his plant to Tallahassee in 1841 and began publication of the Florida Sentinel, here, in 1841 under the firm name of Knowles, Clisby and Smith. Joseph Clisby became the sole proprietor in 1843.

The Sentinel was outspokenly Whig in politics until reconstruction days when it turned republican. It survived 30 years after Florida became a state but went out of business when the democratic party regained its power in state affairs. The last editor was Samuel B. McLin.

Knowles, a native of Massachusetts, came south early in life and settled in South Carolina. He was an ordained minister in the Georgia conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and became pastor of the Methodist Church in Tallahassee in 1836. He was fond of saying that he served the "Church and State" after he bought the Florida Watchman. In 1843 he was a member of the territorial house of representatives. He continued as an itinerant minister until 1851 when he severed his connections with the conference. After leaving Tallahassee he published newspapers in Rome, Macon and Greensboro, Ga., joined the Protestant Episcopal Church and was ordained. At the time of his death he was connected with a Greensboro Church.

Knowles did not reveal himself as a minister in his newspaper writing except occasionally on obituary notices. He had a good sense of news values and was alive to the important issues of the day. He was secretary of the Saint Joseph constitutional convention and one of the secretaries of the southern planters conference in Macon.

Joseph Clisby, was a native of Massachusetts, came to Quincy after learning the printers' trade. He became editor of the Quincy Sentinel and later one of the proprietors and moved to Tallahassee with Knowles. He was sole proprietors of the Sentinel from 1843 to 1853. In 1855 he bought the Macon Telegraph, changed it into a daily, and retained active control until 1880. He died in 1886. He was deeply interested in developing the public school system in Georgia.

His editorial writing was characterized by an easy flowing style but he lacked the wit and vituperation that characterized much of the journalism of the period.

Benjamin F. Allen was publisher of the Sentinel from 1854 to 1858; Hart and Barefoot from 1859 to 1861; Hart and Shober 1865; J. B. Oliver in 1866; Edward M. Cheney in 1868, 69 and 70, S.M. McLin in 1873. Allen was Leon Representative in 1862, and Barefoot was Clerk of the house the same year.

Gazette--Patriot

R. H. Alexander and A. R. Alexander established the Commercial Gazette at Port Leon in 1843. When the inhabitants of Port Leon moved to Newport after the storm of 1843 the paper became the Newport Patriot. A. R. Alexander remained as editor.

In 1846 the Newports Gazette was being published by James B. Carlisle. In 1849 the Wakulla Times was being published at Newport.

Size and Rates

Early Leon county newspapers had circulations in the neighborhood of 500 or 600 each. Subscriptions for weekly newspaper cost \$5. a year. Advertisements, many of them for missing slaves, cost \$1. a square of 100 words for the first insertion. Before its removal to Tallahassee the Quincy Sentinel had a value in material of \$2,500. and employed four men. The two newspapers and one bindery in Tallahassee had a combined capital of \$19,000. and employed 12 men.

The vicissitudes of a Tallahassee editor are illustrated by the way in which the Sentinel editor met the crisis of the fire of 1841. He put his type case on two saw-horses in the basement of the capitol building where his forms rested on tombstones. The Sentinel was published from the capitol basement for some time after the fire.

An extract from Editor Gautier's famous Saint Joseph Times gives an insight both into the types of newspapers then published in Tallahassee and the journalistic style then in vogue. On Tallahassee's newspapers, Gautier wrote:

"After these worthies comes the Star and Floridian. The former is a dashing, vinous libertine,--bold, reckless, fond of getting into scrapes, fighting on all sides and as well on one as the other. The Star is variously touched with poetry, religion and women and is constant to one things-banks. Whatever opinion it espouses, it enforces it boldly, cutting and thrusting like an experienced swordsman-- neither asking or giving quarter. Opposed to this blunt, heavy fisted Richard Coeur de Lion, is the wily Saladin of the Floridian, flourishing his well tempered steel and dodging at every blow of his adversary. The Floridian is always on the winning side--steps cautiously like a man walking among snakes or a regular in an Indian hammock, ready to draw back at the slightest alarm. He dines, sups, and eats, and is hale fellow well met, with men of all parties, and no matter to which side the victory comes-- he is of them and among them."

Tallahassee Semi-Weekly News

Thomas B. Barefoot established the Tallahassee Semi-Weekly News in 1861. Barefoot was born in Georgia and belonged to a newspaper family. His son, Thomas E. Barefoot was associated with the Floridian as Editor and his son-in-law, Newton M. Bowen was proprietor of the Floridian for many years.

The Semi-Weekly News was issued on Mondays and Thursdays, the most convenient days for the mails, and had a subscription rate of \$3. a year.

The News was "devoted to the interests of Florida and the Confederacy", according to its masthead. It did not survive the War between the States. While it was being published, Tallahassee had three newspapers, the Floridian, the Sentinel and the News.

Only two of the early Leon County newspapers survived the War Between the States, the Floridian and the Sentinel and only one, the Floridian lived through reconstruction times.

Two new publications were organized here in 1881 to compete with the aged Floridian.

The Economist

R. B. Hilton established the Economist in 1881. He was editor and publisher of the newspaper which was issued on Saturdays and sold for \$1.25 a year. Hilton was a prominent man in Tallahassee and served in the Confederate congress. He lost money on the Economist and soon suspended it. He was an attorney and practiced law here for years.

The Land of Flowers--Tallahasseean

R. Don McLeod, father of the representative from Franklin County in the 1937 legislature, established the Land of Flowers in Tallahassee in 1881. It, too, was published on Saturdays. The subscription rate was \$2.

The name of the paper was changed to the Tallahasseean. It survived until 1910. John G. Collins was editor for many years and John C. Trice was editor early in this century.

Tallahassee Capitol

I. B. Hilson established the Tallahassee Capitol in 1899. It became a daily, Tallahassee's first, W. B. Crawford, was associate editor. The office was on West Pensacola Street. Hilson came here from Milton, was state printer and published the Florida reports.

Claude L'Engle, afterwards publisher of the sensational Florida Sun here, bought the plant. It was eventually acquired by the late General T. J. Appleyard.

The Florida Sun

With the appearance of Vol. 1, No. 1 of the Florida Sun, published by Claude L'Engle, April 1, 1907, Tallahassee journalism regained much of the flavor of times when outspoken editors discussed the issues of the day with out gloves. The Sun was published daily during sessions of the Legislature only. It appeared during the 1907 and 1909 sessions, full of pithy comment on the affairs at the capitol and heavily illustrated with cartoons and half-tones. The Florida Sun was the successor of the weekly Sun which L'Engle published at the session of 1905.

He was state printer for a time and afterwards served in congress.

L'Engle was perhaps the most effective political writer in modern Florida journalism. His daily comment on the legislature created more attention than that of any other Florida newspaper in recent times.

The Florida Record

General T. J. Appleyard, veteran of the Confederate naval service, and a newspaper publisher in Lake City for many years, moved to Tallahassee and engaged in the publishing and printing business until his death here.

In 1914 General Appleyard established the Florida Record, a weekly newspaper. He had previously acquired the plant of the Florida Sun and in 1909 he published the Morning News during the legislative sessions as a daily.

Herbert A. Felkel, a distinguished Tallahassee journalist, was associated with the Florida Record and with the Democrat before he became editor of the Saint Augustine Record in 1918, a position he held until his death there in 1936.

Felkel was born in DeFuniak Springs, where his father was president of the normal college, in 1889. He lived as a child in Saint Augustine while his father was superintendent of the school for deaf and blind there. After his graduation from the University of Florida he wrote for several state newspapers, then went to Pensacola where he served on the News under W. B. Crawford, also a Tallahasseean. He became editor of the News before he was 21 years of age.

When he returned to Tallahassee he was managing editor of General Appleyard's Florida Record and of Milton A. Smith's Democrat.

Appleyard sold the Record to the Democrat in 1919.

The Democrat

John G. Collins, who had been editor of the Tallahasseean, established the Weekly True Democrat March 3, 1905. It was published from the office in the Telephone building at Adams and Clinton streets.

Charles Augustus Choate was editor for some years. He had done editorial work on the Immigrant, the Jacksonville Citizen and the Pensacola News.

Milton Asbury Smith bought the Democrat from Collins in 1908 and Herbert A. Felkel became associate editor and business manager. Smith was born in Montezuma, Ala., in 1860 and died in Tallahassee in 1935 after having owned and edited the newspaper for more than a quarter of a century. He was a devout Methodist and in addition to his newspaper work, wrote two books, Smith's Anthology of the Bible and Smith's Epitome of the Bible. His editorials smacked of the old time fervor on prohibition and similar issues and occasionally on political ones.

He had engaged in newspaper work in Alabama for several years before moving to Tallahassee to take over the Democrat.

In 1913 Smith published the Daily Democrat but went back to the weekly issue after the close of the legislature. Otis F. Landers was city editor at the time.

On April 6, 1915 Smith again issued the Daily Democrat and it has been in continuous publication since.

The Florida Record was purchased from General Appleyard in January 1919 when the Confederate veteran editor of the Record explained that he had one son in France and two "taken away by death." Appleyard continued in the printing business and was state printer for many years until his death when the plant was sold and still operates at the same location.

Smith's Weekly was established by Smith in 1924 and published from the Democrat plant.

In 1929 the Daily Democrat was sold to the Capital City Publishing Co., Col. Lloyd C. Griscom, president. William Blount Myers was editor and J. A.

Cawthon, now general manager of the Saint Augustine Record, until succeeded by John M. Tapers who is now president of the Capital City Publishing Co., and publisher. Smith continued as editor for some time after he relinquished the ownership. Other editors were Charles Sloan, George W. Dobbs, Charles White, later editor of the Panama City Herald, Sam Ellis later editor of the Pensacola News and Journal, DeWill Lamb, and John Kilgore, J. A. Benjamin, the famous "Uncle Ben" of Florida Journalism whose bones were found near Lake Okeechobee after his strange disappearance from Ocala, was once associated with the Democrat's editorial department.

Florida State Journal

Grosvernor Dawe established the Florida State Journal in 1923 and issued it from 350 East Park Avenue. It was short lived.

Dawe was afterwards conspicuous in connection with the gasoline tax issue at the session of 1929.

The Morning News

General T. G. Appleyard launched a morning daily, The Morning News, in 1909 which was published only during the legislative session of that year.

The Morning State

Milton A. Smith launched a more permanent morning daily in December 1925 when he started the Morning State, with J. Karl Howard as associate editor. The morning newspaper was published until 1928 when it was discontinued.

Florida State News

Charles W. Hunter founded the Florida State News February 27, 1927. He relinquished part of the financial control to Carl Morris, road material dealer of Orlando, who put Fred O. Eberhardt in charge as publisher in 1929. Byron Mc. G. West, formerly a Pensacola newspaperman known for his political writing and Oscar Johnson, who has managed several political campaigns, and now is Secretary to U. S. Senator Claude Pepper, were associated in the editorship before Morris assumed control in March 1929. John Kilgore then became editor and continued until the paper was closed in the fall of 1930.

Hunter reestablished the Florida State News as a weekly in 1931 and from May 21, 1935 has been publishing a daily under the same name. George Anderson, who was with the original Florida State News as associate editor, and with the Daily Democrat, twice, is in the same capacity on the revived daily.

Hunter, a native of Ohio, served 12 years in the regular army and came to Florida in 1905. He served as senator from Marion County in the state legislature and was commissioner of institutions under Governor Martin.

The Dispatch

Frank Webb established the Tallahassee Dispatch and published it here for two years during the administration of Governor Martin.

Gulf Coast Breeze

The Gulf Coast Breeze was established at Crawfordville by R. Don McLeod, sold to Frank Webb, for many terms chief clerk of the Florida house of representatives, who changed the name to the Wakulla County News in 1928.

DeWitt Lamb was editor of the Wakulla County News during the interval in his continuous service with the Tallahassee Daily Democrat. It is now being published by L.C. Patton.

The State

A weekly newspaper of political comment was established February 27, 1931 by John Kilgore who continued it in publication until he sold to the Capital City Publishing Company when he became managing editor of the Daily Democrat. The State was issued by the Capital City Publishing Co., and was discontinued in 1937

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The Associated Press

The Associated Press has had full time correspondents in Tallahassee since 1922, correspondents have been;

Carlisle Bergeron,	1922-1924
Caleb J. King,	1924-1925
Hugh S. Ahearn,	1925-1930
Wilber Crawford,	1930-1933 (now state news editor, Associated press Jacksonville bureau)
Henry S. Wrenn,	1933-

Tallahassee was made a two-man bureau in November, 1934, when James A. Hodges of Jacksonville became first "assistant correspondent". He now is on the Miami Herald. Ben. J. Grant, Jr., of Jacksonville, succeeded Hodges; he is now southeastern regional correspondent for Associated Press in Washington. James H. Cobb of Savannah succeeded Grant. He now is executive secretary to the Mayor of Savannah. William L. Waddell, of Albany Ga., succeeded Cobb. He now is in Deland correspondent for Daytona Beach News Journal. Fred L. Strozier of St. Petersburg succeeded Waddell.

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LEON COUNTY IMPRINTS PRIOR TO 1860

by

Clyde L. Berby

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The word imprint is sometimes used by publishers and librarians to designate information on place and date of publication, and the identity of printer or publisher of books, pamphlets, and broadsides. Newspapers of an early date come within the limits of this designation. More frequently, however, the term is used in reference to publications of special interest because of place and date of printing.

These early publications are not only rare, but they constitute source material of considerable importance; for it is unquestionably true that the facts of history as well as an accurate picture of the political, economic, and social life of a community must be obtained from records written or printed at the time of the particular events. The most important of these early records and those of interest to the greater number of people, were printed. The fact that a proclamation or slave sale notice was printed is evidence that the subject matter was of general interest. And to a great extent the historian must consult these printed records for information relating to the subject of his inquiry.

Contemporary source material is generally divided into two classes: written and printed. The latter, for the purpose of this paper, will be subdivided into two classifications: (1) newspapers and (2) books, pamphlets, and broadsides.

Newspapers: No subject which deals with imprints can afford to ignore the value of newspapers as source material. In a new and sparsely settled community, sources of historical information were generally meager, being largely confined to diaries and letters of leaders among the pioneers. However, it was the newspapers that recorded their public activities, and the recording of these events at the time has given the historian a volume of facts that otherwise would be lost.

Practically all of the earlier papers were published weekly and would in many ways suffer in comparison with the weekly publications of today. There was a scarcity of items on fashions and the activities of the social set; syndicated and featured articles were unknown; however, considerable space was devoted to political gatherings, picnics, and the proceedings of the Territorial and State government. Many legislative acts and resolutions of importance were printed in their entirety. The advertising sections have a distinct value even today. They frequently included proposals to publish books or pamphlets and listed others just published and for sale. With author and title known it is often possible to locate an imprint that would otherwise remain undiscovered.

It was, however, the commercial feature which caused the first paper to be established in Leon County. "In the Pensacola Gazette of April 17, 1824, W. Hasell Hunt announces, 'We contemplate fixing a branch of our office at

Tallahassee very shortly and in that case a newspaper will be published there as soon as mail routes are established.' Six months later appeared the prospectus of a weekly paper, The Florida Intelligencer, which was to be published in Tallahassee by Gordon, Crane and Company. Hunt was the 'Company' of the firm as is proved by this editorial statement in the Gazette: 'We have formed partnership with Messrs. Adam Gordon and Ambrose Crane to publish the Florida Intelligencer.' On November 15, 1824, the type, press, and paper left Pensacola for Tallahassee. The Pensacola Gazette of March 19, 1825, announces the arrival of the first number of the Florida Intelligencer. The same issue of the Gazette contains an article from the Intelligencer of February 19, which says that the paper is not to be issued weekly before the completion of the printing of the territorial laws. This indicated that the chief thing that attracted the proprietors of the press to Tallahassee was the hope of the comparatively lucrative government printing job. The printing of a newspaper was at first quite incidental. When the second number of the paper appeared is not definitely known.

It has been definitely ascertained that at least forty-five papers were published at one time or another in Florida before July, 1845. Of these, all except one made their appearance after the territory had been obtained by the United States. Tallahassee had eleven papers, which published more than eight-hundred issues, eight hundred and seventy-three of which have been preserved. So far as known, no copies of the following papers have been located; Tallahassee Gazette and General Advertiser, Florida Intelligencer, and People's Friend." (1) The largest files are in the possession of the Library of Congress, American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass., Florida State Library, and Mr. Julien C. Yonge of Pensacola; but it is quite likely that many other copies exist today and may be found in the possession of some of the older inhabitants or descendants of those deceased.

Books, pamphlets, and broadsides now located in public depositories at Tallahassee: Most of the volumes and pamphlets printed prior to 1860 were confined to the acts and resolutions of the Legislative Council, and Supreme Court reports. There were a few exceptions, mainly on the subject of Freemasonry and the proceedings of church conventions. Probably the outstanding exception is the volume, The Lost Virgin of the South by Don Pedro Casender, "printed in 1831 by the Florida Courier, a novel of 325 pages in duodecimo - so far as known the first work of fiction published in Florida." (2)

Located in the Supreme Court Library are four volumes of the "Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida," which cover the period from 1822 to 1845, all of which were printed in Tallahassee, (Leon County). However, the first imprints of the first and second sessions were made in Pensacola. The fly leaves throughout these volumes show different printing dates and the names of several different printers - indicating the binding together in chronological order of many small volumes for the purpose of convenience. Vol. 1 covers the period 1822-1827; Vol. 2, 1828-1831; Vol. 3, 1832-1837; Vol. 4, 1838-1845.

Of the small volumes printed prior to 1860, two are of a religious nature: (1) "Journal of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Florida" - printed at the Florida Sentinel Office in 1852 by Joseph Clisby. (2) "Journal of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Florida" - printed at the Florida Sentinel Office in 1853 by Joseph Clisby.

These thirty-six page volumes show, besides the proceedings of the Convention, a list of the clergy canonically connected with the diocese, a list of the

churches, and parochial reports.

The third imprint is "A Report of State Treasurer Benjamin Bird to His Excellency W. D. Mosely, Governor of Florida". This is a broadsheet printed in October, 1846; and shows in detail his accounts with The Territory of Florida, The State of Florida, and The Tallahassee Fund.

Most unusual is the next imprint which is entitled, "Documents Accompanying the Report of the Committee on Claims, on the Petition of Benjamin G. Thornton." This broadside shows various papers in connection with certain construction work on a capitol building, including the articles of agreement between John P. Duval, Commissioner of the city of Tallahassee and of the Territory of Florida and Benjamin G. Thornton and Jesse H. Willis. Also many papers, dated from 1828 through 1841, showing Thornton's efforts to collect money allegedly due him.

The sale of slaves under foreclosure could not have been considered an unusual occurrence. Nevertheless, only one imprint of a legally advertised sale has been brought to light. This is a recent discovery and was found among some old papers in the attic of the county court house. This broadside advertises a sale of slaves on Wednesday, June 29th, 1842, in pursuance of a court decree, made in a certain cause between Joseph Chaires, executor of Ben. Chaires, deceased, petitioner for the foreclosure of a mortgage and Robert H. Berry, defendant. The sale took place at the plantation known as the Fauntleroy place. The names of the adult slaves are given, and included is the issue after the 20th of April 1840, Printed May 27, 1842.

On March 8, 1845, a bill was passed to facilitate the organization of the State of Florida. It was printed however, prior to legislative action with the belief that "the State of Florida will be admitted into the National Confederacy by law." At the time the bill was drawn, it is clearly evident that the committee was more or less certain of congressional action as plans of the state organization had been worked out in detail. A few minor changes were made in ink. The title of this broadside is, "A Bill to be entitled, an Act to facilitate the organization of the State of Florida."

Broadsides were not limited in scope to the common-place, or routine activities of local and state government, as is evidenced by one which publicly brands as a coward and a scoundrel an outstanding and picturesque figure of the territorial period. It would be manifestly unfair to either present this broadside with out comment or to withhold other material, which does not come within the subject of this article, but which presents another side. It is also a recent discovery and reads as follows:

TO THE PUBLIC

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"The object of this placard is to inform the Public that Gen. Leigh Read has declined giving to me an apology for the insult offered me at St. Marks, on the 5th inst. That he has also refused to me that satisfaction, which as an honorable man, (refusing to apologise), he was bound to give. I therefore pronounce him a Coward and a Scoundrel.

WILLIAM TRADEWELL
Tallahassee, Oct. 26, 1839."

Attached to the broadside is the following news item: (Name of paper not shown).

TO THE PUBLIC

"I deem it proper to state, that in consequence of insulting and ungentlemanly expressions used by Gen. Leigh Read to Mr. Wm. H. Randolph, pending the communciation which recently took place between the former and Dr. Tradewell; I conveyed a challenge to Gen. R. From Mr. Randolph, although the former had placed himself in a situation where, by the universal consideration of gentlemen he was unassailable; and although Mr. Randolph might well have declined descending to meet a man who had tamely submitted to the grossest public indignity. This note Gen. Read refused to answer, without assigning any cause, thus evading all responsibility for insult, unless, indeed, from the cane or the cowhide, in an open attack. To this course Mr. R. will not be driven. He will not, for the purpose of bringing into the field so unworthy an antagonist, violate the respect due the community, nor render himself amenable to the laws of his country. For myself there is a double reason why I should not pursue this man further, having already twice shrunk from a meeting with honorable men, it would assume the appearance of empty bravado, to endeavor a third time to overcome his reluctance to take the field. I therefore content myself with thus holding up to the scorn and contempt of honorable men here and elsewhere, a man who is base enough to skulk from the consequences. Such conduct, in any man, would excite surprise; in Gen. Leigh Read, whose arrogant pretensions to chivalry and valor, have filled the public ear, who has more than once obtruded himself upon its notice as a stickler for the code of honor, who quotes so often from "John Lyde Wilson," and who has been indebted to his printer for no inconsiderable degree of military fame, it must be viewed with astonishment and disgust.

Thus much is due to myself and my absent friend. I know the force of the language I have used, and am responsible for it, under a pledge not to resent any indignity offered to the note of my friend, I have forborne much; that forbearance is now at an end, and most cheerfully will I accord to Gen. Read the cowards advantage of attack or assassination.

J. H. RANDOLPH

October 29th, 1839"

As previously stated, there is another side; and is presented in the following account of General Reade's duel with Colonel Augustus Alston. James Parton writes:

"Let me relate one of Dr. McCormick's duel anecdotes; he having witnessed the scenes he described, and assisted at them as attending surgeon. The event occurred in 1841 the parties well known, all of them being men of wealth and great note in the cotton kingdom. The principals were Colonel Augustus Alston, a graduate of West Point, and Colonel Lee Reed (sic) planters, both; chief men of their county; politicians of course. Long-standing, bitter feud between the families, aggravated by political aspirations and disappointments; the whole county sympathizing with one or the other-eagerly, wildly sympathizing. The quarrel relieved the tedium of idleness served instead of morning paper to the men, supplied the want of new novels to the women. At length, one of the Alston party, on slight pretext, challenged Reed, (sic) which challenge Reed (sic) refused to accept; no man but Alston for his pistol. Another Alstonian challenge, and yet another, he declined. Then Alston himself sent a challenge - Alston, the best shot in a state whose citizens cultivated the deadly art with the zeal of saints toiling after perfection. This challenge Lee (sic) instantly accepted. Weapon the rifle, hair-trigger, ounce ball. Men to stand at twenty paces, back to back; to wheel at the word one; to fire as soon as they pleased after the word; the second to continue counting as far as five; after which, no firing. Lee (sic) was a slow, portly man, a good shot if he could fire in his own way without this preliminary wheeling. He regarded himself a dead man; he felt that he had no chance whatever of his life on such terms, not one in a thousand. He bought a coffin and a shroud, and arranged all his affairs for immediate death. The day before the duel, his second, a captain in the army took him out of town and gave him a long drill in the wheel-and-fire exercise. The pupil was inapt- could not get the knack of wheeling. If he wheeled quickly, his aim was bad; if he wheeled slowly, there was no need of his aiming at all, for his antagonist was as ready with heel as with trigger, from old training at West Point, "Lee" (sic) said the Captain, "you must wheel quicker or you've no chance." Stimulated with this remark, Lee (sic) wheeled with velocity, and fired with such success as to bring down a neighbor riding along the road. Lee (sic) sent his coffin and shroud to the field. Mrs Alston accompanied her husband. "I have come," she said, "to

see Lee Reed (sic) shot."

The men were placed, and the second counted one. In swiftly wheeling, the light cape of Alston's coat touched the hair-trigger, and his ball whistled over Reed's (sic) head, who stood amazed, with rifle half presented. The word two, recalled him to himself; he fired; and Alston fell pierced through the heart. Mrs Alston flew to her fallen husband, and found the ball which had slain him. In the sight and hearing of all witnesses of the duel, her dead husband, bleeding at her feet, she lifted up the ball, and with loud voice and fierce dramatic gesture, swore that that ball should kill Lee Reed. (sic)

Willis Alston, brother of Augustus Alston, takes up fight of his brother, shoots at Reed (sic) in the City Hotel, wounds him, but in a few months he is again up and about on city streets. Alston lays for him kills him on streets of Tallahassee. Alston brought to trial but fled to Texas where killed." (3)

General Reed evidently lost very little, if any, prestige by his refusal to accept William Tradewell's challenge, for in 1842 the Legislative Council enacted legislation to change the name of Mosquito county to that of Leigh Read.

"An Act to repeal an Act providing for the safe keeping of the Records of the County of Mosquito and other purposes approved, Feb. 2, 1838.

Section 1st. Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, that the aforesaid recited Act, be and the same is hereby repealed; and that it shall be the duty of the Clerk of the County of St. Johns on or before the 10th day of May next to turn over and deliver to the Judge of the County Court of the County of Leigh Read, late Mosquito, all the Books, Records, and papers of said county to be placed by said Judge with the Clerk of said County of Leigh Read, when qualified according to law.

Section 2d. Be it further enacted, That the Judge of said county court of Leigh Read County be authorized to order an election to fill any vacancy that now exists or may arise in any county office of said county. Recorded Page 8, Legislative Journals.

Approved February 26, 1842."

The name Leigh Read, however, does not occur in the Act of February 2, 1838, nor in any of the other Acts relating to Mosquito County, changed to Orange county in 1845. However, on a map dated 1842, located in the State Library, the county of Leigh Read is shown. The assumption is, therefore, that after a short period of time Leigh Read county again became Mosquito county without benefit of legislative enactment. It is difficult to account

for this sudden change back to the original name of the county unless it was brought about by the friends of Colonel Alston, who bitterly resented the manner of his death and the person responsible therefor.

Of special interest to the student of politics is the broadside, "Rules of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida." Meetings of this body were governed by thirty-eight rules, which can best be described as terse. And many of them, however fitting, would have no place in our legislative sessions of today. It is interesting to note that members were not permitted to speak to one another when one was speaking in debate. No member could speak more than twice in any one debate on the same day without leave of the Council; and remarks concerning the character or qualifications of the Governor's nominees were kept secret.

"An Act to Incorporate the St. Joseph Insurance Company." That business was transacted on a large scale in territorial days is evidenced by this bill which proposed a million dollar capitalization. And of particular interest is its broad power and authority as outlined in Section 6 as follows;

"Sec. 6 Be it enacted, That said corporation shall have full power and authority to make Insurance on all kinds of property, and effects of every kind and nature whatever, against losses and damage by fire, perils of the sea, and against all other losses, damages, and risks, to make contracts, involving Insurances of every kind and nature whatsoever; to buy and sell notes, drafts, and bills of exchange; to exercise all the powers and privileges of a general Insurance corporation, and to execute all trusts committed to them by individuals or corporations; and said Insurance Company may make Insurances and accept of trusts to any amount whatever."

Section 11 reads:

"Be it further enacted, That this Charter shall continue, and be in force until the year One Thousand and Eight Hundred and Eighty-six."

It is, therefore, presumed that the Act was proposed in either 1835 or 1836.

The "Memorial of the Union Bank of Florida" is a broadside which explains to the Legislative Council "the reasons which, in the opinion of the Stockholders, forbade their acceptance of an act of the last Legislative Council, entitled 'An Act to suspend the exercise of banking powers by the Union Bank of Florida; to provide for the payment of the Territorial Bonds, issued to said bank, out of its assets, and the mortgaged property of the stockholders - for the liquidation and settlement of the affairs of said Bank, and for, the amendment of the charter thereof, which Act was approved on the 15th March, 1843.'" Accompanying the memorial is a bill "to incorporate the subscribers to the Union Bank of Florida."

The few Leon county imprints listed and described in this paper is not an indication that others do not exist, or that their location is not known. Besides those of the acts and resolutions of the Legislative Council and General Assembly, more than seventy-five (75) have been definitely located. A few may be found in some of the Florida libraries and private collections, but the great majority are in institutions outside the state, such as the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California, the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, the Harvard Law School Library at Cambridge Massachusetts, and other libraries. (4)

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- Bibliography -

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Florida and Leon County in the

Election of 1876

by

Albert Hubbard Roberts

Three times the presidency of the United States has turned upon a single vote; in 1801, with the accidental tie-vote between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr; in 1868, with the attempted impeachment proceedings against Andrew Johnson; and in 1876, with an electoral vote of 185 for Rutherford B. Hayes against 184 for Samuel J. Tilden. In this last named contest Florida was to furnish the electoral votes without which Hayes would have been defeated, legally as well as actually, and Leon County was to furnish the successful electoral ticket with its greatest popular majority in the State.

Traditionally democratic prior to the war between the States, save for the one Whig triumph in 1848, Florida had "gone republican" nationally and for State offices in 1868 and 1872, and in 1876 the contest to recover the State to its old allegiance was unusually hard fought.

Marcellus L. Stearns, elected Lieutenant Governor in 1872, had succeeded to the governorship in March, 1874, upon the death of Governor Ossian B. Hart, the republican nominee, that year having defeated the democratic, or "Conservative" ticket headed by Leon County's favorite son, William D. Bloxham, for Governor, and General Robert Bullock, of Marion County, for Lieutenant Governor. There was a crossing of racial lines to some extent in this election for a few of the newly enfranchised negro voters refused to follow their ranks and two colored men from Leon County who loved and trusted Bloxham, sat as delegates to the convention which first nominated him for Governor of Florida.

Marcellus Lovejoy Stearns, the last republican Governor of Florida, was a typical "Carpet-bagger." A large man physically with a heavy beard and rather a forbidding countenance, he looked much older than his thirty-four years when he became Florida's youngest Chief Magistrate. His personal appearance had a tragic tinge as well, for his right sleeve was empty. His arm, according to his sworn statement, he left on the battlefield of Winchester. His political enemies were charged with the scandalous story that he lost it in a steel trap in a neighbor's corn bin. His own version, doubtless, was true, as he had been an officer in the Union Army. A native of Maine, he was one of the horde of political racketeers who invaded the South during the period of Reconstruction. His early career in Florida was with the Freeman's Bureau, at Quincy, and this was a connection which rarely enhanced reputations for honesty. He was a delegate from Gadsden County to the State Constitutional Convention of January, 1868, and served later as Speaker of the Assembly. For several years, by appointment of the President, he was Surveyor-General of Florida, and Lake Stearns, in Highland County, was named in his honor.

"Major" Stearns, as he was known, either through courtesy or sarcasm, as his actual rank in the army had been that of Lieutenant, had been declared the republican nominee for Governor in 1872, in a stormy convention held in the State Assembly Hall, but withdrew his name when a serious split in the party became apparent. He was named for Lieutenant-Governor after Supreme Court Justice O. B. Hart, a former slave-holder and a Unionist during the war

had been named for Governor. Judge Hart, a son of the founder of Jacksonville (Ocean Street, in that city is a corruption of his first name) became the first native born Floridian to serve as Governor of the State, his tenure ending with his death after fourteen months. A sick man when nominated, and getting along in years, there was little to mark his administration and the rather perfunctory sorrow of the State in the passing of its Chief Executive, was probably submerged in the hope of a better day under a younger, more aggressive, and visibly ambitious successor, who had played his own hand, politically, fairly well. Even the opposition party and press tried to wish the new Governor something akin to success, and to accord him a restrained credit for honesty and patriotism.

The official records of the Stearns administration show little calling for comment here. Most of the written history of these years is found in John Wallace's "Carpet-bag Rule in Florida". Wallace, a negro and a republican who served for eight years as a State Senator from Leon County, displays little respect or regard for most of the white carpet-baggers. Wallace himself was from another State, escaping from slavery into the Union Army, and coming to Florida after the war. He was one of the few negro carpet-baggers, and seems to have been at least fairly well respected by his unwilling white constituents. Toward Stearns he was unusually bitter, "No crime was too great, no act too low for him to commit it", was his judgement of Stearns, but as the two men, though of the same party, were leaders of bitterly opposing factions, we may approach this contemporary estimate with a measure of caution.

Addressing a joint session of the Legislature in January, 1875, Governor Stearns stressed the good relations existing between the two races, the absence of violence or fraud in the 1874 elections, and expressed the belief that Federal legislation was not needed longer to preserve the rights of the colored people in Florida. According to Wallace, the Governor hoped to be elected United States Senator at that time by a combination with republican voters of democrats who would be willing to elect Stearns a Senator in order that the president pro-tem of the State Senate, A. L. McCaskill, of Walton County, a democrat might become Governor. It was a secret intention of Stearns, in this event, Wallace adds, to exercise his constitutional power by appointing a republican as Lieutenant-Governor before he himself should qualify for his Federal office, and thereby rob his democratic allies of their fruits of victory. Be this as it may, the Governor's Senatorial aspirations met with no general response, and after prolonged balloting, a legislature which had a slight republican majority, elected Charles W. Jones, of Pensacola, a democrat, to the United States Senate.

Though unsuccessfull in his ambition to become Senator from Florida, Stearns controlled the republican State organization well enough to effect his renomination for Governor in 1876, with David Montgomery, of Madison County, for Lieutenant-Governor. Re-election was another matter. Sixty years after, we may be fair or generous enough to concede a measure of sincerity to Governor Stearns' efforts to win the friendship of the shuthern whites, however unsuccessful they proved; but he had to rely on the votes of thousands of newly enfranchised blacks altogether unrestrained and unfitted for the suffrage, to keep him in power, and to the southern white man of that day, no issue could be so important as the restoration and the perpetuation of white supremacy. Stearns might have been as conspicuous in all the qualities of statemanship as he was lacking in most of them, and still his job would have been impossible.

William D. Bloxham, still the undisputed leader of the "Conservative democratic" party, brough about the nomination, at a State Convention held in Quincy,

of George F. Drew, a wealthy lumberman of Madison County, for Governor, with Noble A. Hull for Lieutenant-Governor. Drew, a native of New Hampshire, had been a Union man in sentiment, and his nomination was expected to, and did, appeal to an element of new citizens from the North who would have declined to support any candidate who had been active in the secession movement. A faction of the republican party nominated for Governor Dr. Simon B. Conover, of Tallahassee, a former State Treasurer, and then a United States Senator from Florida, and, singularly, the Republican National Convention seated delegates from the Conover faction over those selected by the State Convention which re-nominated Stearns. Had Conover remained in the race for Governor, it would have assured Drews election. Wallace states point-blank that Stearns paid Conover \$1,200.00 or \$1,500.00 to withdraw, and indicates surprise that Drew did not make a better offer. The campaign became harder fought day by day, and its intensity is emphasized by an incident related to me by former Governor Bloxham shortly before his death in March 1911, and which I believe has not been published heretofore.

"A few days before the election of 1876", said Mr. Bloxham, "A large committee of white democrats, including myself, waited upon Governor Stearns. It was agreed that none of us would say anything excepting Colonel Gamble. The Governor met us in the cabinet room and asked what he could do for us. Colonel Gamble replied, 'We have come sir, to put you on notice that if a single white man is killed in Leon County on election day, there are three hundred of us who have sworn that your life shall pay for it.' We retired leaving Stearns white as a sheet. No one was killed in Leon County on Election day. We had a plentiful supply of arms and ammunition in the basement of the Presbyterian Church for use in case of trouble. The other crowd knew nothing about this".

Whether this visitation had anything to do with Governor Stearns's proclamation urging a peaceable and lawful election, I am unable to say, but there was comparatively little disorder anywhere in the State upon election day, though it can hardly be questioned that many negroes, who would have voted the republican ticket stayed away from the polls, either through fear of violence or of economic retaliation on the part of their employers, or other whites. The negro and republican vote was heaviest in Northern and Western Florida, and lightest in the Southern part of the State, as a rule. Returns from the republican counties, fairly well covered by telegraph, came in earliest, and, in the opinion of many republican leaders, this enabled their democratic opponents to manufacture more successfully the necessary off-setting majorities, while official returns were being tabulated in the counties more remote from ready communication. A theory not entirely unreasonable, yet it might well be asked, if such were the case, why the democratic counties were content to stop short of more decisive totals. It was before the days of voting machines or the Australian ballot, and the fact that most counties in Florida were either strongly republican or strongly democratic at the time, undoubtedly increased the opportunities for ballot-box stuffing and falsification of returns alike on the part of both parties, neither of whom were troubled over-nicely, in this life and death struggle as to how they might arrive at the desired mathematical results.

Governor Stearns, in a manuscript written some time prior to his death in New York State in December, 1891, and made public by his family in recent years, declares that it was not questioned that Florida had "gone republican" until the afternoon following the election, when it was known that the electoral vote of the State must be given to Samuel J. Tilden, if the democratic nominee for President of the United States was to be elected, that the democrats began

to claim Florida; that many prominent democrats had already congratulated him (Stearns) upon his re-election, which earlier returns, and republican estimates as to the unreported votes on the basis of the 1872 elections, indicated by some 2,800 majority. Such might have been the case in the republican areas of Florida, of which Tallahassee was the center - Leon County in 1876 casting 3,035 republican votes to 1,003 democratic, making it the republican banner county- but throughout the Country generally the State was regarded as close, but probably democratic, the newspapers of November 8, 1876, with a few exceptions, conceding Tilden 184 electoral votes to 163 for his republican opponent, Rutherford B. Hayes, with 22 electoral votes more or less doubtful in Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Oregon, of which Tilden needed only one, but Hayes must receive all, to be elected. Early returns are nearly always deceptive in closely contested elections, and it was altogether natural for Governor Stearns to believe himself the winner on the strength of these early returns; equally so, for him never to believe otherwise. It is doubtful if any candidate in an unusually close election has ever been persuaded that he really lost.

When the returns from the various county canvassing boards at length reached Tallahassee (excepting Dade, which gave 9 republican and 5 democratic votes) they showed 24,325 votes for the republican electors and 24,282 for the democratic electors; 24,613 votes for Drew for Governor and 24,116 votes for Stearns; in other words, "on the face of the returns" Hayes had won the four electoral votes of Florida by 43 majority, while Drew had won the Governorship by 497 majority, exclusive of certain precincts in Baker and Clay counties not incorporated in the county returns.

On November 27, 1876, the State Canvassing Board, consisting of Samuel B. Mc Lin, Secretary of State, and Clayton A. Cowgill, Comptroller, both republicans, and William Archer Cocke, Attorney General, a democrat, with William Lee Apthorp, of Tallahassee, as clerk, began the canvass of the vote. On December 6th, the Board declared Stearns elected Governor by a vote of 23,666 against 23,208 for Drew, and that the republican presidential electors had received 23,848 votes against 22,923 for the democratic electors (we use the figures for Electors Halden and Younge, respectively, these being the highest by a few votes in their respective groups.) Governor Stearns thereupon issued certification to the four republican electors, Frederick C. Humphreys, Charles H. Pearce, Thomas W. Long and William H. Halden, who met and cast their votes for Hayes and Wheeler. Attorney General Cocke the same day, refusing to concur with his republican colleagues on the State Board of Canvassers, certified to the election of Drew as Governor, and of the democratic candidates for elector, Wilkinson Call, Robert B. Hilton, James E. Younge, and Robert Bullock, who thereupon met and attempted to case the electoral vote of the State for Tilden and Hendricks.

Between the election and the canvass, Tallahassee was thronged with "visiting statesman" both republican and democratic from other States as well as from other parts of Florida. At that time the principal hostelry was the City Hotel, (known for a time during this period as the Hotel Warwick also,) facing the West front of the Capital.

Upon the pages of this hotel's register appear the names of some of the most prominent Americans of that day. It seems to have been the home also of Governor Stearns, then a single man. The hotel's activity at this time is evidenced by a contemporary news item in a local paper that it was employing forty-five colored waiters.

Amongst the "visiting Statesmen" on the republican side were United States Senators Zechariah Chandler of Michigan and William E. Chandler, of New Hampshire, (not related), chairman and Secretary respectively of the Republican National Executive Committee. The New Hampshire Senator was especially bitter in his attacks on Florida Democrats, declaring murder one of their recognized political methods, and that Governor Stearns and other republican leaders in the State, whom he praised highly for their courage and integrity, were hourly in danger of assassination. For the remaining quarter-century or more of his life and public career, there was little love lost between Florida and the New Hampshire Senator.

Leading for the moment the presidency, we will give our attention to the legal contest for the Governorship. The case of State ex rel. George F. Drew; relator, vs the members of the Board of State Canvassers, McLin et al. heard at a special term of the Supreme Court of Florida convened December 12, 1876, an original proceeding in mandamus, is covered fully in 16th Florida Reports, pages 17 to 67, and we will discuss it very briefly here. Suffice to say that the Court, consisting of Chief Justice Edwin M. Randall and Associate Justices R. B. VanValkenburgh and James D. Westcott, Jr., the first two republicans and the third a democrat, unanimously held that the Board of Canvassers was without judicial powers, and required that it re-canvass the vote for Governor and declare the result, from the returns as made by the county boards. This resulted in a declaration of Drew's election by a vote of 24,179 to 23,984 for Governor Stearns. The earlier decision, of the State Board, in favor of Stearns, Attorney General Cocke dissenting from his republican colleagues, having been reached by discarding entirely the returns from Manatee County, which gave Drew 262 votes to 27 for Stearns, by rejecting 557 votes in Jackson County, in Campbell and Friendship Church precincts, 61 votes in Jefferson County, and by other "corrections" in the original returns. Two votes were deducted from the Leon County returns, but John Wallace is authority for the statement that Joseph Bowes, appointed by Governor Stearns as superintendent of Schools in this county afterward admitted dropping an additional seventy republican ballots in the Lake Jackson box. This was twenty years before Florida adopted the Australian ballot, which would have rendered the negro vote of 1876 almost negligible, as would any other educational test. Each party printed its own ballots, many of them on suspiciously thin paper. The 557 Jackson County ballots, and some others were rejected as having been fraudulent. The Manatee County returns were rejected entirely by reason of the fact that the County had no Clerk of the Circuit Court at the time; a circumstance not improbably designed to prevent the holding of an election at all in this predominantly democratic county.

In these proceedings, Judge R. B. Hilton, and Judge George P. Raney, both of Tallahassee, represented Mr. Drew, while Judge J. P. C. Emmons appeared for the respondents, McLin and Cowgill, Cocke filing a separate answer. Frederick Towle Myers, a native of Tallahassee and until his death in January 1927 one of its most honored citizens, was then clerk of the court, a young man just attained to his majority. Regardless of one's personal feelings, highest praise must be given the republican members of the court for their ability, so rare at that time, to put aside partisanship and to construe the law as they say it. Judge Westcott's opinion in this case has been cited in most election contests in the United States during the last sixty years. May we digress a moment to call attention to the publication, in today's papers, of the resolution giving the name of James D. Westcott Hall, to the Administration Building of the Florida State College for Women, here in Tallahassee, which is indebted to this great jurist for his interest in its predecessor college in his life

time, and for his liberal bequest upon his death.

The proceedings in the Supreme Court terminated January 1st, 1877. John Wallace, to whom we must refer again, says that Stearns first planned to hold the Governorship at all hazards, and that when he weakened in this determination, he was threatened with death by one of the republican leaders "loaded up with the beverage of hell", but that after an early conference with Drew on the morning of January 2nd, the retiring Governor drove off into the country and "Thus", says this negro writer and politician of the reconstruction days, "ended the eight years carpet-bag famine and pestilence". Jubilant democrats from Florida and adjacent States forced upon the opened doors of the old Capitol and George F. Drew was sworn in a Florida's Governor. His running-mate, Nabee A. Hull, on the same day, assumed the office of Lieutenant-Governor, without, so far as available records disclose having been legally declared or adjudged elected to the office. Federal troops were on duty still in Tallahassee, but they would no longer be used against the native whites. In the jubilation of the day, Tallahassee Democrats, forgot that other day, nearly twelve years before, when earlier detachments of men in blue entered the city and hauled down the last Confederate flag to fly from a Southern Capitol.

While the mandamus proceedings in the Drew Case were pending before the Supreme Court of Florida, quo warranto proceedings were being prosecuted in the Circuit Court of Leon County by Wilkinson Call and other democratic candidates for presidential electors, against the republican candidates for electors. The original files are still in the office of the Clerk of this court, Hon. Paul V. Lang, here in Tallahassee. Judge P. W. White, of Quincy presided, Mr. Call, later a United States Senator from Florida for eighteen years, and General Edward A. Perry, Governor of Florida from 1885 to 1889, represented the plaintiffs, while the respondents (the republican electors) were represented by General Lew Wallace, of Indiana, a distinguished attorney, soldier and author. General Wallace was one of the many "visiting statesmen" probably the most prominent lawyer from another State ever to appear in Leon County Circuit Court. On January 25, 1877, Judge White entered an order in favor of the democratic electors, from which an appeal was taken to the State Supreme Court, but not prosecuted, so the only judicial determination of the question was, that the Tilden and Hendricks electors had been duly chosen by the State of Florida.

It may be asked why the democratic candidates in Florida chose different methods and different courts for adjudging their claims. So far as Drew was concerned, the obvious strategy was to over-ride the action of the republican majority of the State Board of Canvassers in going behind the County returns, which upon their face gave Drew a substantial majority over Stearns. This would have availed nothing in the case of the presidential electors, for the republican candidate had a slight majority in the face of the county returns. Then too, a majority of the State Supreme Court were republicans, and the democrats preferred not to bring the presidential contest into the high court when they had a perfectly good democratic Circuit Judge available with original jurisdiction in quo warranto proceedings. For the same reason, probably, they did not protest the exclusion from the amended canvass of Clay County, which Drew could dispense with, but which was essential to the success of the democratic presidential electors.

Again, the State Board did not announce the results of its first canvass until December 6, 1876, the day the electors were required under Federal law for the electors to meet in their respective States and cast their ballots

for President and Vice-President. Mandamus proceedings for a re-canvass, therefore, obviously would have been futile, and the only way open to the democratic electors, to whom Attorney-General Cocke had given certificates was to meet, cast their own ballots, and then through appropriate judicial proceedings, which they instituted the same day, attempt to sustain their own claims and to demolish their rivals. The order of the Circuit Court, (not being an Appellate tribunal) does not go into details, but evidently Judge White gave effect to the returns of certain precincts in Baker County which the County Board did not report to the State Board of Canvassers. On the face of the original returns. Baker County gave Hayes 130 votes and Tilden 89, while the canvass made by the incoming democratic State Board of Canvassers in January 19, 1877, and confirmed by the new legislature, democratic in both houses, gave Hayes 143 and Tilden 238 votes in Baker County, a net increase of 136 votes for Tilden, which, with a few minor changes, converted a Hayes majority of 43 on the face of the County returns to a Tilden majority of 90, a net change of 143. Which candidate actually carried the State, God only known and time will probably never reveal. Of all statesmen, who studied the question at first hand at the time, I know of only one who arrived at a conclusion detrimental to his own party. General Francis C. Barlow, of New York, a republican, sifted the evidence to a point where he concluded that Tilden had probably carried the State by approximately 30 majority,

The history of the Electoral Commission of 1877, and the partisanship of its 8 republican and 7 democrats which by a strict party vote awarded every electoral vote to Hayes and Wheeler claimed for them, is too familiar, and too tragic, to invite unnecessary discussion here. It may be mentioned, however, that once, while considering the Florida Case, Justice Joseph R. Bradley joined with the seven democratic commissioners in voting to inquire into the qualifications of Frederick C. Humphreys, one of the republican electors from Florida. This gave a momentary hope to the democrats, but Judge Bradley rejoined his fellow republicans in sustaining the eligibility of the candidate. So far as I know, this was the one instance in which a member of the Electoral Commission departed even momentarily from his party allegiance. Whatever may have been the hope of statesmen in providing this extraordinary tribunal, political gamblers in Washington immediately offered "five to one on Hayes", when it became known that Judge Bradley was to be the 15th Commissioner, they were not under any illusions.

Though Florida cast only 4 of the 22 disputed electoral votes awarded to Hayes and Wheeler by the Electoral Commission (the republican United States Senate concurring and the democratic House of Representatives dissenting in each case), the decision of the Commission that it could not go behind the Acts of the State Canvassing boards and Governor, reduced its functions to a nullity, and left little doubt as to the final results. "The Florida Case" is commemorated by a huge oil painting in the Capitol at Washington, in which scores of the most eminent statesmen and attorneys of that day are depicted. It was the first case referred to the Commission, and the decision in that case destroyed any real hope of Tildens being awarded a single elector in Louisiana, where his case was much stronger, and that of Hayes correspondingly weaker, than in the more contested Florida vote.

In a Congressional investigation two years later, strange "cipher telegrams" were shown to have passed between Tallahassee and other Southern Capitals, and key cities in the North, during these contests. On the whole, "Government of the people, for the people and by the people" found little satisfaction in this tragic close of what has become known as "The Tragic Era" except the high and honorable positions maintained throughout the contest by the principal

candidates themselves.

The 1876 election in Florida resulted also in the usual contests in the National House of Representatives as well. This body, under democratic control admitted Robert H. M. Davidson of Quincy, democrat, and Horatio Bisbee of Jacksonville, republican over William J. Purman of Marianna, republican, and Jesse J. Finley, of Jacksonville, democrat, though near the close of Congress Finley was seated in place of Bisbee. While the contests were in progress in Tallahassee, the democrats of the Capital City scored a small triumph in electing Judge J. T. Bernard, Mayor, by 12 votes, over his republican opponent, out of a total of approximately 1,000. In the State contests, Malachi Martin, an Irish-American, who was warden of the old State Penitentiary at Chattahoochee served as chairman of the Republican Executive Committee, while Samuel Pasco, of Monticello, a naturalized citizen of Canadian birth, (later United States Senator from Florida for twelve years), headed the democrats.

Upon leaving Florida, ex-Governor Stearns was appointed United States Commissioner at Hot Springs, Arkansas. Some years later, he visited the eastern part of the State he had once governed, as a representative of the United States Department of the Interior, but when he drove away from Tallahassee the morning of Drew's inauguration, he ceased to be a factor in Florida affairs. Other republican and democratic leaders in the 1876 contest were rewarded by the National or State Administrations, respectively. Samuel B. McLin, the malaverous Secretary of State, who had served in the Confederate Army while at heart a Unionist and had joined the Union Army while furloughed by the Confederacy thus achieving the unusual and undesirable distinction of being a traitor to both sides, was nominated to a judgeship in one of the western territories, but was rejected by the United States Senate; following which, a softened conscience or some less creditable motive led him to confess that in the canvass of the returns in Florida in 1876 he had probably, in some instances, allowed his party loyalty to over come his judgement.

Since our Society is a local one, it perhaps will not be amiss to conclude this narrative of "Florida and Leon County in the Election of 1876", by reference to the two candidates for presidential elector who were residents of this county.

Robert B. Hilton, a lawyer and democrat was one of the Tilden electors whose vote was rejected by the Electoral Commission. He became one of the Counsel for Governor Drew in his successful fight in the Supreme Court of Florida. So deep was his interest in his party's success, during the campaign that he executed a mortgage on sufficient of his own property to B. C. Lewis & Son, Tallahassee bankers, to raise six hundred dollars to defray his own expenses, and help others of the democratic candidates. He lived and died highly honored.

Bishop Charles H. Pearce was a negro preacher, and his title probably was as much a compliment to his political leadership as to any spiritual or ecclesiastical eminence. A Canadian by birth, he was excluded from membership in the State Constitutional Convention of 1868 because of doubtful citizenship. Later a member of the Legislature, his experiences ranged from opening the Senate with prayer to indictment and conviction for offering a bribe to a colored member of the other House. This conviction, in the Circuit Court of Leon County, was upheld by the Supreme Court of Florida, but he was pardoned by the Acting Governor, Samuel T. Day, and the Prosecuting Attorney in the case was removed from office later by Governor Harrison Reed (also a Republican) in whose interest, incidentally, the bribe was alleged to have been

offered. It must often have been a source of pride to this reverend politician in reviewing the vicissitudes of an eventful life to recall that, but for the two ballots he wrote out and cast in Tallahassee that fateful 6th day of December, Anno Domini 1876, Governor Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio and Representative William A. Wheeler of New York, trailers in the popular vote by a quarter of a million, would not have become, respectively, President and Vice President of our United States.

Authorities

In addition to works in the Florida State Library and the Supreme Court Library, I am indebted to the Jacksonville City Library and the private library of Mr. Julien C. Yonge in Pensacola, and to local newspapers (incomplete) of that period in the City (David S. Walker) Library, of Tallahassee. Also to Rollins College Library, Winter Park, for a type written copy of the statement prepared by ex Governor Stearns. This came to my attention after this paper, in its original form, was read before this Society in December 1936, and the references thereto did not appear in the original paper.

A. H. R.

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Note - An earlier paper by Mr. Roberts, "Wilkinson Call, Soldier and Senator", read Before the Society in January 1934, and omitted from the Annual because of its length, appeared in full in the January and April, 1934 issues of the Florida Historical Society Quarterly.

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